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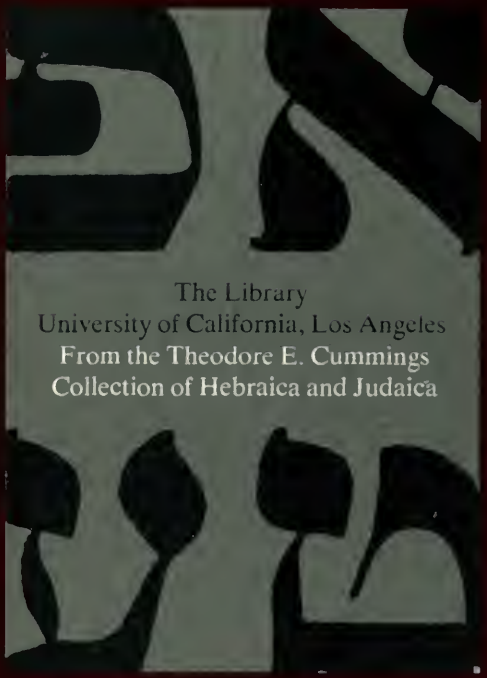
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The Semitic Series

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE HEBREWS

ARCHIBALD DUFF

Series of Handbooks in Semitics

EDITED BY

JAMES ALEXANDER CRAIG

PROFESSOR OF SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES AND HELLENISTIC GREEK, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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The Semitic Series

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE HEBREWS

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PREFACE

A TRUE exposition of the Religion and Ethics of the Hebrews must be a narrative of a constant movement. The men of those ages were mentally alive and progressive. Consequently our exposition must prove to be a vision of a steady progress of religion through the ages. The movement and development of men are seen truly only in their own utterances, not in what chroniclers have said of them. Therefore, in our pages we try to let the thinkers' own words be read. This becomes the more imperative to-day when the careful student of texts and times tells us that the traditional views of these have been mistaken, and that much rearrangement of passages is necessary, if we are to read the words of the original writers as they were written.

The case becomes very serious when we deal with the Pentateuch and other narrative books. Few students do not now see that these are composite works, and that the various elements in them belong to different writers and different periods of time. But then the reader asks, what were the original works

from which these elements were taken? Dr. Bacon of Yale University restored three of these works, the Yahwist, the Elohist, and the Priestly writers, so far as they are contained in the Pentateuch.[1] The present author has published the Yahwist (J) and the Elohist (E) in full, *i.e.*, as they are contained in all the narrative books from Genesis to 2 Kings. In the present work a summary analysis of J and E is given in Appendices I. and II. to place the reader so far in possession of the facts.

Concerning the Deuteronomists the case is more difficult. Here no full analysis has been made save that sketched by Professors Staerck and Steuernagel, as described in our pages. Nothing has yet been published in English fully describing these analyses. In this volume the first effort has been made to show in restored form the original documents from which our Deuteronomy has been constructed. It is the more important to do this, even at cost of some space, because the opinion is gaining ground that Josiah's Reformation, 622 B.C., must have been the normal outcome of the religious movements of the century of the great Prophets, 800 to 700 B.C. Still many, and, indeed, most scholars hesitate to study Deuteronomy in this light and also to study that

[1] B. W. Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis*, 1891; and his *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 1894. Hartford. A. Duff's *Old Testament Theology*, vol. ii., 1900. A. & C. Black, London.

century, 800 to 700 B.C., in the light which that Book throws back upon it. The present author has therefore felt it a duty to give in this volume especial attention to Deuteronomy.

The Hebrew religion and ethical life reached a culmination in the Exile, in the ideals of the Slave-Singer, which are almost identical with those of Jesus, five centuries later. The men who had reached this height, went out or remained out in the world doing their work of evangel; they were necessarily lost to history so far as they were Hebrews. In them Hebrew religion and ethics attained their climax, completion and close. Our volume, therefore, ceases at that climax.

ARCHIBALD DUFF.

UNITED COLLEGE, BRADFORD, YORKSHIRE.
February 20, 1901.

CONTENTS

PART I

EARLY HEBREW LIFE: ITS RELIGION AND MORALS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE FIRST HOMES AND GOSHEN 1

CHAPTER II

THE NEW NOMADIC LIFE 9

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT 16

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND MORALS 19

PART II

THE EARLY NARRATIVE LITERATURE

900 TO 800 B.C.

INTRODUCTORY 22

CHAPTER I

PAGE
THE RELIGION OF THE YAHWISTIC LITERATURE . . 24

CHAPTER II

THE ETHICS OF THE YAHWISTIC SCHOOL 34

PART III

THE PROPHETS OF GOODNESS

800 TO 700 B.C.

INTRODUCTORY 38

CHAPTER I

THE PREACHING OF AMOS 39
SOME CHIEF HEBREW EVENTS WITH PROBABLE DATES . 42

CHAPTER II

THE PROPHET HOSEA: 740 TO 720 B.C. 54

CHAPTER III

ISAIAH, PROPHET AND STATESMAN: 740 TO 700 B.C. . . 79
The Story of His Statesmanship 79
The Substance of His Sermons 88
Outline of Micah's Preaching 109

CHAPTER IV

PAGE
Ethics and Theology of the Great Moral Prophets 111
1. The Primary Fact and Feature in these Moral Preachers 111
2. The Ethics of these Prophets 115
3. The Ideals of these Prophets 118
4. The Theology Proper of these Prophets . . 123

PART IV

THE FORMAL DOCTRINAL TEACHERS

750 to 700 B.C.

Introductory 130

CHAPTER I

The Deuteronomists 135
The Problem and the Clew to Solution . . . 135

CHAPTER II

Theology and Ethics of the Formal Teachers . . 143

PART V

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL REORGANISATION IN JUDAH

700 TO 600 B.C.

CHAPTER I

PAGE
THE CENTURY 149

CHAPTER II

JOSIAH'S REFORMATION 154

CHAPTER III

NAHUM AND ZEPHANIAH 161

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF JEREMIAH, THE CRITIC OF THE REFORMATION 164

CHAPTER V

THE NEAR SEQUEL OF THE REFORMATION: ITS THEOLOGY AND ETHICS AS SEEN IN HABAKKUK, OBADIAH, AND IN INCIPIENT INTEREST IN ZION, LAW, AND PSALMODY . 175

PART VI

RELIGION AND ETHICS IN THE EXILE

500 B.C., ONWARD

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE EXILES AND THEIR PROBLEM 181

CHAPTER II

THE EXILIC LITERATURE 186

CHAPTER III

THE ANSWERS TO THE EXILIC PROBLEM 188

1. The Answer of the Writers of the Book of Job 188
2. The Answer of the "Holiness Law" . . 189
3. The Answer of Ezekiel 191
4. The Answers in the "Comfort-Poem" in Isaiah 195

CHAPTER IV

THE FAITHS OF THE COMFORT-POEM 198

CHAPTER V

THE FOUR SONGS OF THE SUFFERING SLAVE . . . 207

CHAPTER VI

THE HIDDEN RESULT 214

APPENDIX I

PAGE

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS OF THE YAHWISTIC NARRATIVE . 219

1. The Epic of the Beginnings of Life . . . 219
2. The Epic of the Exodus 224
3. The Epic of the Settlement West of Jordan, under Joshua 231
4. Stories of Heroes who Saved the *Ibhrim* (Hebrews) in Times of Oppression by Surrounding Peoples 233
5. The Gilgal Story of the Kingdom . . . 235

APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS OF THE ELOHISTIC NARRATIVE (*circa* 730 B.C.) 243

1. The Days before the Yahweh-Character was Revealed 243
2. The Revelation of the New Name of God . . 247
3. New Teaching by Statutes 250
4. The Original Deuteronomic Law 255
5. The Story of the Settlement in Canaan . . 258
6. The Elohistic Stories of Heroes, or Judges . . 261
7. The Elohistic Story of the Founding of the Kingdom at Mizpah 262

APPENDIX III

THE OUTLINES OF THE ORIGINAL "D" DOCUMENTS . 268

A. The "JUDGE" or Hosea-like "D" Document . 268

i. The Hortatory Prelude 268

PAGE

ii. Outline of the Directions of the "Judge" Document 269

iii. The Text of the "Judge" Document . . 270

iv. Liturgical Appendix 282

v. The Closing Portion of the Setting . . . 283

B. The "Elder" Amos-like Document . . . 283

APPENDIX IV

Outline Analyses of the Oracles of Jeremiah . . 286

i. According to Cornill 286

ii. According to Duhm 287

PART I

EARLY HEBREW LIFE: ITS RELIGION AND MORALS

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST HOMES AND GOSHEN

The discovery, in 1888, of the famous box of tablet letters at Tel-el-Amarna, on the east of the Nile, between Minieh and Siout, has given us a picture of great value. By careful study of these documents we are enabled to know more than merely the officers and the majesties who wrote them from Assyria, Syria, Canaan, and Egypt to one another.

Recent research[1] by Drs. Niebuhr and Winckler have shown that two of the original fountains of population in those far-off days were Central Arabia, on the south or southeast, and Asia Minor on the northwest. Out of these homes went continual emigrations, driven out by lack of food and freedom. From Arabia an early stream went toward the Euphrates delta, another, perhaps, across the Red Sea. But one of great interest to us went toward Palestine and, arriving there, the folk were called "Migrators," *Ibhrim*, Hebrews, as they wandered with their flocks, or settled beside their fields.

[1] *Der alte Orient.* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900.

But they met with resistances, offered especially by hosts who came from the northern source in Asia Minor. Those from the north were the people called Hittites in our Old Testament literature. The Hebrew literature contains tradition of commercial or military conflicts between the Hebrews and Hittites near Hebron, and perhaps on the mountain-yoke Shechem. These conflicts gave the material, apparently, for the stories of Gen. xxiii., and possibly for that of Gen. xxxiv. In these struggles the Hebrews gained landed possessions and learned to believe that their deity, Yahweh, enabled his followers to obtain honour, power, wealth, and victory. The scenes of battle and bargain became famous sanctuaries where the Hebrews always felt they might meet together as a people with their divine patron and renew their blood-kin by the feast of flesh.

About four centuries before David, perhaps 1400 B.C., these nomads moved away from a temporary stay caused by famine, near the lake lands close to the present Suez canal. This region was called Goshen. Let us try to realise the outline of actual history in all this. We may discover it by regular historical method from the varied records made by different men, who, at successive times, looked at their past through the different media of their circumstances. We can gather together the features that are common to all and that bear signs of persistence in the memory of the people from the occurrence of the events down to the times of the narrators. It will appear that we have here a history not of a people, merely, but of a religion.

The sojourners in Goshen had been wanderers, nomadic shepherds in the narrow strip of territory lying between the Mediterranean and the Jordan, and which is the highway from Asia and Europe to Africa, and also in the somewhat desert, yet largely fruitful land lying east of the Jordan. They claimed connection with tribes lying on the eastern slopes of the White Mountains, or Lebanons, and centring in Damascus the ancient garden of the world. There was a notable spot in that region where sacred festivals had been held, where covenants had been formed, where a great patriarch had been buried. Probably it was there that the specially honoured name, which the tribe loved to bear in all the ages, the name "Israel" arose. The meaning of this name seems to be "It is a deity that is prince": by appropriating it the people recorded in that northeastern shrine their faith that they had a god, who was the prince yet intimate member of their tribe, and also that this chieftain and the people shared in the consequent dignity and obligations. It might be customary to call the people "Jacob," which means, "supplanter," "lier-in-wait;" that name might express the character of the tribe as ordinarily seen: yet the other name was true also; the mere name implied a high ideal for that day, even amid consciousness of much that was questionable in the people's ways.[1] It is notable that certain ruins in that northeastern region show that there have been honoured sanctuaries there down to comparatively recent times. The oases on the long road toward the Euphrates were so welcome to the

[1] See *Stade Entstehung des Volkes Israel*, 1899.

caravans that very naturally places of worship were planted in such spots. The mountain-sides gave some visions of such beauty and command that men naturally felt at such points that the Unseen was near.

There was however one special point in the Palestine region that was the chief centre toward which the wanderers turned for guidance and festival joys. That was the "Shechem," or the "Shoulder," the chief mountain-pass between the Mediterranean and the Jordan Valley. This was the centre of the whole country's area. A festal fire burning there could be seen from almost every part of the land.[1] This place was always honoured, and was visited frequently by the nomads in the earliest days. Some unchaste religious doings were practised here; strange connections, religious and social, were formed with non-Hebrew tribes. Some bloody deeds were said to have occurred at the seizure of the spot as a Hebrew possession, in which for ages the most sacred religious acts of the tribe should be performed.

Such were the old haunts which the Goshen people loved to tell of in their tribal traditions. But they had also intimate religious relationship with sacred spots in the nearer and more desert lands of the far south. There was a famous place, an oasis perhaps, called The Well of Oath (or Seven), commonly known as Beersheba, far in the south on the lands where the wandering Hebrews came in special contact with Philistines and made covenants with their kings or sheikhs. Perhaps the sanctuary called Kadesh-

[1] Cf. G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 117 ff.

Barnea (*i.e.*, the Sanctuary of Barne) was near the same southern spot.

To this fact is to be added another that is of much religious significance. We may say that one of the earliest and also most persistent points in Hebrew theology was that the tribal god, Yahweh, was a Storm-god or Rain-god, and that his original home was in the far south. The storms blew up from the south; and so Habakkuk's song begins

"God came from the South (Teman)."

By far the most notable sanctuary and theophany honoured among the traditions of the Deliverance from Egypt were assigned to the mountain-regions in the Sinaitic peninsula. The peaks there are probably the scene and focus of many a terrible thunder-storm. They are granitic rocks, some of which are 9,000 feet in height.[1] In the brilliant sunlight the red rocks pour out a very blaze of fiery light.[2] So, too, do the limestone plateaus that lie farther north. Furthermore, these desert stretches bear chiefly a low, thorny plant. The mountain-range bears the name "Sînai," derived from the name of the desert, which is "Sîn"; and this word "Sîn" seems certainly the same as the Hebrew *Sene*, *i.e.*, thorn bush.[3] These facts appear to give the meaning to the story that here a man

[1] v. H. Kiepert's *Alte Geographie*, 1878, p. 184.

[2] P. Loti's *Le Desert*, p. 83.

[3] Vide Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine* (this series), p. 50, who connects it with *Sin*, the Babylonian Moon-god. Neither derivation is free from difficulty, though both are possible. —[Craig].

saw God amid a blaze of burning thorns. Wandering in those regions was a lad who was to become ere long the leader of the Hebrew people: he was shepherding his sheep amid the red granite mountains. The flock browsed upon the thorny plants that bordered the pasture in the oasis. The man sat at dawn by the stream, and watched the fiery rocks. Yonder streamed the level sunlight across the low growth. Each spine glistened against the rising sun. The man was a poet, one fit for inspiration. He felt that the dreams of his soul were the whisperings of his God, the place his sanctuary. He bowed and worshipped. Thenceforth he set himself to the task of bringing the Hebrew people out of Egypt to worship here. A theology was nascent in the thought, and more than nascent; it was strong and rugged. In the power of the ideas which this young man in this hour cast into a very creed of purposes and expectations, he became one of the forerunners and prophets of Hebrew religion.

That scene compels our thoughts to revert to Egypt. The youth we have watched was probably an Egyptian: the Hebrews always called him a *Lewi*, *i.e.*, an attaché. He was one of a large number of camp followers who left Egyptian homes and went with the Hebrews when they marched away from Goshen. These Egyptians were probably fugitives from the monarch's oppression. The Hebrews in Goshen had been doubtless tributary to Egypt. They had gone to the neighbourhood of the fertile Nile delta through the pressure of one of those famines that visit so often and so naturally the semi-civilised East. The trou-

bles incident to eastern lands, and especially to the delta and the valley of the great river, came upon Egypt as usual, and the Hebrews saw their masters often suffer from polluted water, from malarial flies, from horrible locust-swarms, from cattle-pest, and from destructive storms of thunder and hail. The Hebrews had suffered too, but less than the Egyptians, who were tillers of the soil. The Hebrews were persuaded that these curses were from the anger of the gods, and especially from that of their own god, the Rain-god. Their religion, as we have already seen, was a faith that their god Yahweh, and they themselves were stronger and wiser than all other gods and men. It became a favourite Hebrew tradition that one of their number, Joseph, had been a wise counsellor of the Pharaoh, and that he had helped to meet the famine difficulty, to rearrange the Egyptian land-law in a practical, feudal method.

But the Hebrews had learned and taken on a good many Egyptian ways. They had learned from the Egyptians, perhaps unwillingly at first, especially that sacred rite of circumcision which was practised by the father-in-law on a bridegroom. Another very important Hebrew observance was always held to have been brought from Egypt, namely, the so-called Leap-Feast, or Passover. This may have been a celebration of the intercalary days needed to bring the ordinary reckoning by moons into agreement with the solar spring-time. Egypt was a land of astronomers as well as of tillers of the ground.

The occasion of the departure from Goshen was evidently a startling calamity which befell the royal

family. The king's first-born son died suddenly. It seems as if a general slaying of first-born sons throughout the land followed. Perhaps it was ordered by the government, after a manner common among semi-barbarous peoples. The Hebrews were spared this: they believed that their god, Yahweh, defended them, for he "passed over them." But probably the decree had gone forth that Hebrew first-born sons should die as well as those of the Egyptians; and this apparently occasioned the flight.

But the chief mover and leader was the young "Moses" who had found God near him away in the thorny desert and had returned to Egypt. He had pointed to the plagues of Egypt as Yahweh's scourge upon the land; he had preached that the way of safety for the Hebrews, and for Egyptians, too, was that a great pilgrimage should be made into the thorny land and to the awful mountains where Yahweh could best be worshipped. Pharaoh resisted and tried to prevent the march when it was begun. But Moses led out the whole tribe and a larger band of Egyptians, who attached themselves to the fugitives and who were thereafter known as the Attachés, the Lewiim, or "Levites." There were dangers as on the fleeing people wandered through the shallow, swampy lakes, but the escape was made, and the three days' march went forward toward the divine mountain where the deliverer promised that they should have a theophany like his own.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW NOMADIC LIFE

THE march went straight to Sinai. There the deliverer believed they should see as he had seen; and as he had received so they should receive inspiration for all their future life. They were happy in the fulfilment of this hope. An awful lightning and thunderstorm raged about the peaks while they tented there; the later tradition tells how they called the chief peak afterward the Burning One, or Horeb (חֹרֵב). They watched and trembled as the lightnings flashed. They listened to the thunders and told each other that Yahweh, the god of storms, was speaking to them. Their leaders, the deliverer, and a chosen band besides, spread a table up somewhere on the heights as if to feast this god. They ate and drank. Suddenly there fell a bolt, dazzling all with the steel blue of the electric flash. To see a lightning-stroke close to one's eyes, to live in it and after it, is to understand what those primitive men felt. They said that God had descended and eaten and drunk with them, and they lived.

Then, or thereabouts, two slabs were brought down from the heights. There were strange markings upon them, crystalline, fossil, or otherwise. The people had seen hieroglyphics; they took the mysterious marks to be the hieroglyphic letters of

the deity's speech. What the words meant, they always thought it hard to tell: in after ages they interpreted them in various ways. But those two slabs were thenceforward preserved by the people as a sacred memorial of that great day. They were enclosed in a casket, or perhaps planted upright in it or on it somewhat as sacred pillars (*maççebahs*) that could be thus set up anywhere by simply setting the casket on the ground. And this casket seems to have been counted for ages the visible shrine of their god. With this casket and its enclosed tablets, they believed themselves invincible. In some strange ways they used them as the Greeks used their oracular tubes, seeking oracles through them for their guidance. There arose in time a sacred formula connected with this relic, whereby they called their god

> "The Almighty Yahweh who sits
> Throned upon the winged creatures."

This seems to suggest that the seeming hieroglyphic figures on the slabs were fossils or else crystalline forms resembling winged creatures. Therefore the people called them "Kroobs," *i.e.*, Griffins (Γρὺψ). Here again it is evident in what sense these Hebrews were a religious people. From the earliest times when we begin to have records of them, we find them furnished with religious emblems, and looking upon these as their central characteristic facts. We are justified in speaking of their common views of these facts as their Theology.

The Deity whom they worshipped they called Yahweh (יַהְוֶה). The pronunciation of the word is

made certain to us by the usage of early Greek Christians who were free from the Jewish superstition that the name was ineffable, or dangerous if pronounced. This pronunciation is preserved also in many early Hebrew names compounded of the word Yahu, or Yahw, and the added predicate, as, for example, the name *Isaiah* which is *Yesha-Yahw*. The word *Yahweh* is a causative incipient, 3rd sing. from the stem *Hawah*. This plain bit of Hebrew grammar remains sure, in spite of many obstinate objectors. *Hawah* means "fell": this is also certain. Thus the name of the deity was very naturally explained in the prophets' days as "He who is going to cause falling rain and so cause life and all things."[1] Possibly, of course, the word came originally from some interjection or exclamatory word used by very early worshippers; but the theology of Amos and Jeremiah concerning the name and character was evidently understood by the contemporaries of these prophets in 800 to 600 B.C., and the Yahwistic school of narrative writers, from whom our earliest records of the people come, lived about 900 B.C., for they bring their story down to that date. Therefore the Amosian and Jeremianic theology of the name was doubtless nascent, to say the least, when the story of the Yahwists was written down. It is difficult to get behind the Yahwistic ways of thinking, but we may reasonably infer that the nomadic Hebrews thought of Yahweh as that CAUSER OF FALLING who caused rain and thus the happening of life of plants and beasts and men. No doubt Yahweh was also a war-

[1] Am. v. 4, etc., Jer. xiv. 21 f., xxxiii. 1 ff.

god, for in every war of tribes the tribal deities were the leaders of the hosts.

Yahweh loved the common meal: even at dread Sinai he shared it. Professor W. R. Smith's fine exposition of the Religion of the Semites[1] shows how he entered into fellowship with the members of the tribe, just as they entered into fellowship with each other by sharing the common flesh feast. The beast of flock or herd was stabbed or beaten to death upon a slaughtering-stone, or over a heap of earth, which was called מִזְבֵּחַ, "Slaughtering-place." The blood ran down into the loose earth or among the heaped stones, and the unseen deity received it as one part of his share. He received also the smoke and pleasing odour of the burning of all offal or uneatable parts. The flesh was boiled, and the worshipping tribe ate together.[2] Then they rose and danced in circles, shouting in their pleasure over the hearty meal. Probably even thus early the shout was Hal! Hal! Hallel! Its meaning was something like our Halloo! the Greek ὀλολυγή, and the Latin *ululare*. Hence come the words *Tehillah* (תְּהִלָּה), *i.e.*, psalm, or shout and song of worship, and *Hallelu-Yah* (הַלְלוּ יָהּ), *i.e.*, "Shout ye! 'O Yah.'" Probably in special cases there were also sprinklings of blood upon any who were specially pledging themselves to any task of duty, such as war. Libations of wine and oil were poured out upon the ground or upon the heap of stones, so that the deity might receive this share of

[1] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d Edition, 1895. London, A. & C. Black.

[2] See 1 Sam. ii. 15 (Elohistic); and Deut. xvi.

the tribal food and drink, while all the worshippers drank and grew merry. Covenants were formed thus between the tribe and their god, or between tribe and any other persons or tribe. The occasions for the covenants furnished the occasions for the feasts. While the people were nomadic, they could not well observe the festival dates which agricultural peoples celebrate, for these latter are the times of glad reaping of corn and wine. But the new moons and the reappearing seven planets fixed great dates for feastings.

The trend of development among nomads is toward settlement and agricultural life, just as pastoral nomadism is the stage which follows the hunter's life. So the wandering Hebrews gradually settled on arable lands on either side of the Jordan. They were evidently unwilling to remain nomadic very long, for they made raids into Palestine from the south and from the east. The stories say that they wandered only for a single generation, *i.e.*, some forty years: and this would be the more natural because they had been a partially settled people in Goshen. That they did not enjoy nomadism is further evident from the records that they often mutinied against the leader and deliverer because the desert life was not so comfortable as life in Goshen had been. They disliked the slight fruit of the desert herbage, and the occasional meal of quail: the land "flowing with milk and honey" seemed never to be reached.

In these mutinies the defenders of the leader were those kinsmen of his, the *Lewiim*, who had attached themselves to the tribe at the Exodus, hoping doubt-

less to share in the blessings Moses promised to obtain from the deity at Sinai. By their devotion they made themselves the true body-guard of the leader and "ministers" of the deity. In later days they were the official ministrants in worship and government.

Along with this body-guard must be mentioned two names of supporters of the deliverer—one who led a raid into the south of Palestine and one who led the final raid from the east and across the Jordan. It is remarkable that each of these bore what we may call a *totem* name: the former was called "Caleb," *i.e.*, "Dog," and the latter "Nun," *i.e.*, Fish. It would be interesting to know whether these leaders bore on their rods, or spears, or standards, devices representing these animals, and whether they were really representative men representing tribes that called themselves after animals, as American Indians still do. This we know, that the early literature represents the primitive days of life as having animals who could speak. The serpent was said to have played an important part in the rise of men onward in the dawn of moral maturity. It is also notable that the hero who founded a lasting monarchy is regarded by late writers[1] as having belonged to a "Serpent" (Nachash) clan of the east Jordan region; but the story of Nabal makes it much more likely that he was related to the "Dog" clan. The "Serpent" clan seems to have been unfriendly to the Hebrews. It is valuable to keep in mind the many hints of these faiths current among the early Hebrews: they are part of the peo-

[1] See Ruth iv. 20.

ple's religion. Since the bitterest enemies of the settled Hebrews were the Philistines, worshippers of a fish-god, it is not unlikely that the Elohistic narrator claimed that Joshua, who led the final invasion, was really favoured by the Philistines' own god, and was a son of that god, a real member of the "Fish People."

One more feature of the nomad times is to be noted, *viz.*: the Balaam episode (Num. xxii. f.). This must have been an effort made by eastern sheikhs to hinder the wanderers in their march and purposes by having curses pronounced over them. Tradition varies much concerning the manner of the cursing that was tried. It is evident, that the cursers were themselves Yahweh-worshippers, just like the Hebrews, and that the religious regard of one set of Yahweh-worshippers for another was too strong to allow any serious cursing at all.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTLEMENT

THE story of the Settlement in Palestine and the acceptance of agricultural life is one of long and bloody raids, cruelties, and oppressions by the Hebrews, of reprisals by the slowly enfeebled earlier inhabitants, of incorporation of these among the various Hebrew communities. Chief among all these experiences is, for our purposes, the steady tendency toward unity, and the sense that this course was right. It is significant that an early poetical record, which was perhaps something like the Homeric Epic, and which was so well-known and so honoured that extracts were made from it by the early Yahwistic school, was entitled "The Straightforward Man's Record."[1] The same school tells how in all these ages of the nascent settlements men were trying to be just; but there was no common standard of straightforwardness, and each man followed his own individual mind.[2]

There were many attempts to secure unity by the election of one king over all, but one after another these projects failed, until at last one man succeeded and the great dynasty was founded which was believed to be after Yahweh's own mind, and which all

[1] "Book of Jasher," vid. Joshua x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

[2] Judges xxi. 25.

Hebrews so loved that it was called the Dynasty of the "Beloved," *i.e.*, of "David." This final and successful movement must be dated about 1000 B.C., while the long period of loose settlement and of nomadism following the life in Goshen had lasted probably since about 1400 B.C.

The progress up to this fairly high attainment was a genuinely moral progress. It touched and included many sides of society. This was, indeed, the first permanent monarchy, and only then were the people all well united under one government in common regard for the benefit of the whole. But for a long period there had been a system of judicial administration, ordered by men of wisdom and godliness. Such a man as Samuel had been acknowledged as judge, magistrate, almost as ruler, by many districts to whose centres he went in turn to hold a sort of circuit court. That this was possible tells much for the quality of the people who submitted to his judgment. They were united in brotherliness and in regard for aims higher and wider than those of the individual or the place. But it was also a mark of fairly high moral nature that the people could produce such a man. In short, we have here a proof that the Hebrews were seeking their highest good, with some breadth of view and self-control.

Another sign of the social and moral level attained is to be seen in the record that the art of healing was practised in no mean way. A case of disturbed mind is described, and we read that a man was at once found who was wise in dealing with such a case, and who undertook it with very fair result. It is also to

be noted that the skilful physician, or guide in psychiatry, used music as his means of soothing and cure. This shows that music was cultivated and finely practised.[1]

Society had, therefore, made some advance in culture. The articulations were well ordered; there was a good care for men and things, and the use of force to maintain order, or to glorify the body politic was not neglected. The new monarch found it possible to gather a body of devoted soldiers. Many of these were, it is true, "discontents," such as had wrongs to fret them and to avenge; many others were foreigners from the coast or from beyond the sea, who were not sufficiently attached to country and home to prevent their incurring the risks of adventurers. Yet both sorts of adventurous spirits were amenable to the command of a skilful captain. This proves the presence of at least a workable sense of the pleasure of subordination.

[1] See the "J" story of Saul and David.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND MORALS

We may now proceed to sum up the moral and theological condition of the Hebrews down to the time of the Davidic Monarchy, about 1000 B.C.

There was a deep sense of the reality of the Unseen. Men knew there was some spirit besides their human selves. Certainly they regarded this Being much as they regarded themselves, providing for him such enjoyments, food and pleasures, as they had for their human life.

They counted their deity's friendship most important, and were careful to have and to renew agreements of helpfulness with him. By the same means exactly, and at the same times that they covenanted with him, they covenanted with each other. Their common covenant with him was a covenant with each other. We may say that their common sense of the Unseen generated a moral relationship to each other, a sense of regard for and duty toward each other. Or, we may express the matter in the opposite way, saying that in and by their strong sense of duty to each other they recognised a Power prevailing over their will and their life; their morality generated a theology. It is probably best to say that the two, morality and theology, arose in one and grew together.

This sense of fellowship extended throughout the tribe, but it comprehended other related tribes. Yahweh-worship and the god Yahweh were tribal matters indeed, but the tribe was great, and included, over and above the Hebrews, several other peoples who were treated more or less as fellow-worshippers and relatives in religion.

It is difficult to be quite certain what was counted as the main attribute of the divine character, but very probably he was regarded as the rain-god, or storm-god and, therefore, also the giver of life of every kind. No particular moral excellence was attributed to him. The kind of deity who thus owned the rain and the fruitful land was called a "*Baal*," and Yahweh was long regarded as one of the "Baalim."

All through this period from Goshen to the Monarchy, Hebrew men were learning the value of one another, and the consequent wisdom and duty of regard for each other. Hence morality was arising from the nature of the conditions attendant upon their developing life.

Methods of realising this value and regard were coming steadily into practice. An ethic of the court was arising. With the practice of healing, an ethic for mind and body was arising; a culture of art came about; and men were learning a regimental discipline for purposes of order and control which is the basis of an ethic of the State.

The idea of "The Straightforward" was born, and it grew, especially in connection with song, as beauty and right are always related kinds of harmony.

We have further justification for believing that these features of morality and religion were growing with much strength when, as we now pass on to the following period, we find how deeply they were already rooted.

PART II

THE EARLY NARRATIVE LITERATURE

900 TO 800 B.C.

INTRODUCTORY

ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTS

THIS volume is too small to furnish the full discussion of the extant Hebrew texts and of the reconstruction from them of their original sources, which justifies the use we make of them for our present purpose. But the minute study of the texts has gone so far and the results are so fully published that we may justifiably refer the enquirer to those studies. The substance of the matter may be put briefly as we move onward from one period to another.

The earliest of the works used in the composition of the Hebrew narrative books from Genesis to Kings was what is now called the *Yahwistic* Narrative, or the Narratives of the Yahwistic School. We may speak of this literature as that of a school, for at times there are parallel, slightly varying, narratives of one and the same matter. Here and there a supplementation has been added by some thinker of the same date who felt that some additional point needed treatment. But all agree in belonging to the popular epic literature in having no theological aim or

theory dominating their method and their matter, in speaking of Yahweh as the Hebrew national deity, and in their standpoint in time, for they glorify the Davidic kingdom, its pre-suppositions and its birth, and they bring the story down to the end of the reign of David. Thus they are the product of the age just following the foundation of that monarchy and date from the reign of Solomon or shortly thereafter. Therefore, one may study the mind of this school on religious and moral questions as one source of knowledge of the theology and ethics of the period from about 900 to 800 B.C.

For the clear understanding of this school, it is indispensable that their narrative be in the reader's hands in restored original form, so far as that is possible. This restored original has been published.[1] In Appendix I. we give an analytical outline in which the numbers follow the paragraphs given by the present writer in his work named above.

[1] See *Old Testament Theology*, vol. ii., by the present writer. A. and C. Black, London, 1900. To a large extent also, namely, as far as the end of the Desert Wandering or to Deut xxxiv., it is given in Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis*, 1891, and his *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 1894. Student Publishing Co., Hartford, Conn.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGION OF THE YAHWISTIC LITERATURE

THE Yahwists wrote to glorify the Davidic kingdom. They were really political narrators. They rejoiced in the rise and establishment of a national union; but that kingdom as a union of men and of hitherto mutually jealous tribes was a more vital fact in human progress than perhaps they realised. It made them happy because it satisfied a deep hunger of life. They said that their king was the choice of their god and they were glad because of that. Their king satisfied their ideal; and the most powerful demand they knew was fulfilled when they obeyed, as they believed, the supreme voice in crowning David. The creation of this monarchy was to them a religious act; and we, too, are fully justified in seeking to see here an implicit theology, and in saying that here our special quest discovers a central fact.

They were clearly conscious that they were now entering upon a higher moral level than they had known before. At the close of the terrible tale of the decimation of the Benjaminites,[1] the Yahwistic writer says in so many words that before there was a real king every man did indeed what he counted right, but every man acted without any regard to the national

[1] Judges xxi. 25.

good. The erection of a monarchy that was strong and permanent, established a common sense of duty and as a result conferred upon the people greater worth and dignity. It gave them a wider horizon of knowledge, of purpose and of pleasure. They knew a larger righteousness, a larger duty and a larger honour. The word *Iashar*, "straight in conduct," by which the writer in Judges described "rightness" came now, under the monarchy, to mean a longer line of reach and a broader line of inclusion.

This elevation of their conception of moral obligation strengthened their sense of kindred between man and man, and between clan and clan. The sense of kindred was always felt to be a religious thing. When they ate together the flesh of the sacred victim for the purpose of making a covenant, this was at once an entrance upon or renewal of a relation of kinship, and also a religious declaration. They ate before their god, and he took his share in the blood poured on the dust, and in the savour of the ascending smoke. They linked themselves with him by the same act which linked them with each other. The same was true concerning all their festival meals. Every relationship between men and men implied the relationship of each and all to their god. And since he was evidently the chief and lord of the related families, clans, or tribes, any intensifying of the sense of obligation involved an enlarging of the relation to him. Evidently the Yahwists understood that the establishment of the monarchy under David was a distinct and large step in religious progress. Here then, we see the first feature of the Yahwistic mind

concerning God: The foundation of the monarchy was clearly a religious act, and an utterance of faith. The following seem to be the chief elements of the faith implied in the new unity realised in the establishment of the Dynasty that was the pleasure of Yahweh.

They had risen to faith in the value of each individual or each family, not now as an individual or as a family, but as an integral or organic member of a complete system of individuals and families.

They had risen to a new faith in the consequent new value of a permanently organised and royally administered state.

This meant, also, a new faith in the national deity who had hitherto cared for and covenanted with each Hebrew or Hebrew family, but who now showed his interest in a kingdom, *i.e.*, in an organised fellowship of all Hebrews, governmentally related, royally administered, and permanently established.

But this meant also the religious recognition of new duties to the king, to the administration, to fellow-subjects, and fellow-members of the organised state: the faith was one that had demands to make.

There was in all this something of greater import still: a new vision of spiritual relations. The horizon was widened and larger value was ascribed to spiritual power in man.

A nation does not see, nor feel, nor believe; individuals do. The Yahwistic writer or writers of this class of narrative had risen to these faiths and views of duty; but these men were at least good representative Hebrews of their time. Therefore in this analysis

of the faith of the Yahwistic writers we have been discovering the real religion of the Hebrew people of the Yahwistic times.

Another feature, however, of the more formal religion of the Yahwists must be noted and appreciated. It has been remarked frequently by students of the literature of the Yahwists that their narrative moves along a line of sanctuaries; of these it seems there were seven chief ones, into relation with which they thought that their previous history had been brought. Without some such external symbols religion would not be human. When the Yahwists sing their great joy, they do so by telling a story of the past, and that story is one of a long pilgrimage from one sanctuary to another. The kingdom was pleasing to Yahweh, say they; and the road to it ran from one place of meeting with him to another. Thus the Yahwistic story is no mere book of national annals; it is a book of religious faith. Therefore, to the five points of their religion and faith laid down above, we may add this: They have risen to a faith in fellowship with Yahweh as the guiding factor throughout all past ages, guiding the Hebrews ultimately to the Davidic Monarchy.

They have risen to see the duty of carefully recording this faith, and the story that embodies it. We cannot say that there was no earlier literature; but now the nation brought forth men who could construct such an epic, and the nation now knew how to prize it and preserve it.

In order to define more exactly the level to which the Yahwistic writers had attained, we may gather

together here the main features of the character of Yahweh as he was conceived by these writers.

There is, of course, a good deal of anthropomorphism in all their thoughts of their god; the anthropomorphism is a feature of their own mental habit, reflecting itself in the character they saw in their god. And yet the point of prime importance in that character is this: Yahweh so cared for them, that he fashioned them at first with an inherent possibility of attaining to knowledge of the difference between good and evil. Of less importance is the faith that this knowledge would be realised through eating certain food, or that it came only after sexual consciousness awoke; or that other animal orders had some mediating share in it; or that such maturity of knowledge was also a premonition of death: all these are of secondary theological and ethical interest. It is momentous to find these Yahwists clearly attributing to Yahweh the creation of so high a human capacity, and attributing further to him the creation in man of a sense of unfitness, and a desire to hide himself, when the difference between good and evil dawned upon him. These features in the theology of the Yahwists are surely a projection of their own newborn consciousness upon the past. They had come to regard Yahweh as the author of the sense of shame and of over-awing ideals. Evidently they are themselves the originals of the awestruck souls who hid themselves, as we read in the third chapter of Genesis.

Yahweh appeared to them, also, as establisher of moral sanctions. He ordained that definite blessings and curses should attend definite courses of con-

duct. The sense of shame, of awe, of inevitable bending of conscience had dawned, and it was an awful fact in life; but the Yahwists did not see that that was enough for the moral government of the world. The "categorical imperative" was not enough: virtue was not its own reward under this new view of Yahweh. He had still to use the other prizes and payments, whips and stings of material reward and punishment.

Again the channel of these blessings and curses was to be divinely appointed persons, controlling the Hebrew nation as a whole. Hitherto, of course, the faith had been that Yahweh cared to bless the people as a loosely related tribe, or any family, or an individual, according as these linked themselves to him in the sacred feast. But now a higher feature has emerged; for certain individuals or tribes of the organised people have a function of blessing or cursing, and so carrying out the sanctions and the aims of Yahweh.

Yahweh is now regarded as having preferences for this people, or for this or that man; as, for example, an Abraham, a Joseph, a Moses, or a David, because the character of these pleases him. He has now more than the local preferences of old: the Yahwists know that Yahweh has a certain love for persons for the sake of their moral worth. It is to be observed, however, that the morality thus preferred is by no means the highest that has been known: it is, indeed, far below our own standards.

Furthermore, a tenderness appears in the conception of Yahweh which rises to a remarkable height in

the classic passage where the deliverer Moses is described as receiving a special personal impression concerning the nature of Yahweh. Moses is said to have cried:

"O Yahweh, O Yahweh!
Ever compassionate and ever gracious deity;
Patient in anger, and abundant in loving kindness and truth;
Preserving loving kindness to thousands,
Lifting away waywardness, transgression and fault!"

Comment could scarcely heighten the beauty of this passage. It is indeed a little difficult to believe that the passage dates actually from the days just after David with all his blood-thirst. Yet, on the other hand, it does look like the herald of such moral nobility as Amos had, such tenderness as Hosea breathed, such majestic conceptions as Isaiah proclaimed. If this passage be the product of the Yahwists, they furnish evidence therein that a great advance was made in Hebrew theology when they rose to their task of narration.

Certain other features must be recorded which are not exactly co-ordinate with those just named, although related. They are marks not of the character of Yahweh as these writers believed they saw it, but rather of the purposes which they believed he would unfold. They expected that the Davidic dynasty so gladly established was to be permanent. The closing words of the Yahwistic story in the end of 1 Kings ii., see Analysis, 138, show that this was the faith of these writers.

There is, however, a notable expression used in 2 Samuel vi., which shows that the Yahwists were gaining a new conception of Yahweh's purposes as reaching far beyond the rule over the Hebrews and their land. We read that King David caused the ark to be brought up from the Ba'alah of Judah, *i.e.*, probably the old tribal capital, to Jerusalem, the king's newly acquired fortress, which he wished to make the capital of all the nation, and where also, of course, he wished to have a sanctuary. The writer adds a little archæological note, saying that Yahweh's name is:

"Yahweh of Sabaoth seated upon the cherubs."

The closing words are peculiar, but the name Yahweh of Sabaoth, *i.e.*, of Hosts, fixes their date. There is certainly a possibility that the name is a late insertion, and belongs to the time when such Psalms as lxxx., xcix., and xviii. could be written. And yet the term Yahweh of Hosts was used by Amos in 800–700 B.C. It is not, therefore, utterly impossible that it was used in 900–800 B.C., when the Yahwists were writing. But what would be the significance of it? The qualification "seated upon the cherub" had its origin in the idea that Yahweh was a storm-god who travelled across the heavens on the wild-winged storm clouds. The expression came to be applied to Yahweh as connected with the casket in which were the sacred slabs brought from Sinai.[1] Now we know that the markings on the slabs were mysterious, for they

[1] Professor Rahlfs argues in his treatise on עני and ענו *in den Psalmen*, Göttingen, 1892, that this derived application could not arise until the casket was lost at the exile, about 600 B.C.

were interpreted in different ways while they were still in existence. They seemed like hieroglyphs, and what more likely than that there were cloudy colourings among them, and that these had also something like an animal's shape. Probably the markings looked like winged creatures such as we call griffins. The Hebrew word "cherub" or "kroob" is the same. These pictures were, so to speak, the seat on which the divine companion of the wandering people was ever resting. Since Yahweh was believed to be present where the casket or shrine was, so he was said to sit upon, abide upon, the cherubs. The idea may be as old as these Davidic and Yahwistic times.

But, again, Yahweh is called in this passage "Yahweh of Hosts," which means "He who is to establish hosts," that is all powers.[1] Thus the passage before us, with its added archæological note, probably expresses the Yahwistic faith that the Hebrew god, Yahweh, whose casket was being brought by the king to his new sanctuary was the superior of all the Powers. The Yahwists linked to their conception of the monarchy this belief that their god was, or was to prove himself almighty, the Lord of Lords.

Just following this story of the casket, and the interwoven ascription of all-power to Yahweh, the god of David, we find records of campaigns wherein this king subdued under his rule all Aram in the north of Palestine, and all Edom in the east and southeast. He was certainly becoming an overlord, which signified to men of those times that their god was the over-Lord over the deities of the subdued peoples.

[1] Cf. Cheyne's *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 323.

This overlordship was one of the ideals of the Yahwistic writers, as we see also in their story of Abram, in which the faith is recorded that Yahweh meant to cause Abram's posterity to rule over all the territory from the Nile to the Euphrates. The religious significance of this faith is that the Yahwists were rising from belief in a mere tribal god to the conception of one who controlled all powers. This is certainly not perfect monotheism, but it is incipient monotheism. The Yahwistic writers had thus reached a fairly high theological position. They dared to think.

The Hebrew people were to prevail over the world by the hand of the Davidic dynasty. It is not by any means the largest possible view of divine government or even of the mission of a people: but it is a great advance from pure tribalism, with its unsettlement, its fears, its quarrellings; and it is the herald of the ideas of world-empire and then of a world-religion. The faith of the exilic writer in Isaiah xlix. coming in the far distance is foreshadowed by the religion of the Yahwists.

CHAPTER II

THE ETHICS OF THE YAHWISTIC SCHOOL

WHAT were the ethics of these Yahwists? We may set down first this thesis: the Yahwist feels that men are not good enough. He says this implicitly in his story of the very first men. They rose to a sense of the difference between right and wrong: and the consequence was that at once they hid themselves. They were conscious that they had sinned. But we may set the same fact in another way, saying that they were conscious of an ideal that was far above them. They felt that they were very little; their god very great in goodness. This means that they possessed a standard that was divinely high.

All along the chant of the story there seems to play an accompaniment of mingled nobility and sadness. The writers do not lecture their readers or their people, as the Elohists do; nor do they define duties and standards, nor pause at this story or that to add, "See what a sin this was." Yet the reader constantly feels that the Yahwists are honestly acknowledging the evil deeds of the people and of the greatest men among them.

Let us be more particular. What deeds do they thus silently regret and condemn? They are:

Want of reverent submission to Yahweh, such as Adam, Eve, and the serpent (Nahash) showed in Eden;

The selfishness of a worshipper like Cain, which could turn into blood-feud,

The low drunkenness of Noah and Lot, and the base treatment of it by Canaan and the daughters of Lot;

The unmanliness toward woman that Abram and his fellow-townsmen, and Lot and Reuben and Judah were guilty of;

The small-hearted ways of Isaac;

The tricks and deceits practised by Isaac, Rebecca, and Jacob;

The cruelty of the men of Sodom, of Simeon and Levi, of the ten brothers toward Joseph and their aged father, of Pharaoh toward all the Hebrews, of Balaam to his ass, of Joshua to Bezek, as of Bezek to many others. So also the savage methods of Gideon, Abimelech, Samson, the Benjaminites, and especially of Saul and of David, of Abner and Joab, as well as of many less noted persons;

The unfaithfulness found in Jacob toward Esau and toward Laban, while Jacob accused Laban of the like conduct; so also the unfaithfulness of all the nomad people to their leader.

We may justly say that fairly high ideals were cherished by the Yahwistic writers when they condemned these deeds. They must have had a positive theory of goodness as opposed to such conduct. We may formulate their moral standard thus:

They loved reverence toward deity, and to leaders, to tribal solidity, to woman, and to human life. They prized generosity toward opponents, whether separated by religion or by nationality. They honoured

chastity. They believed in truthfulness and in honesty.

These are not mere indirect conclusions. The story exalts high character, for there are several persons described specially as noble examples of goodness. Some are so described, although the same persons are also condemned when they fall short. So Abram is an example of reverence. Moses is a model of brave patience, and of devotion to his people, his caravan of feeble and ill-conditioned wanderers. How generously he is made to plead for them. And how great souled is his argument: "Not for *my* sake, nor for *their* sake, O Yahweh; but that thy undoubted power may appear to all nations!" How manly is his scorn for the imputation that he could ever be selfish! The Yahwistic story does not accuse Moses of any misconduct as the reason why he was not allowed to enter Canaan. It is the later interpreters who suggest that. The Yahwists simply say that his life-task was all nomadic, and he died ere it was ended. The picture and the ideal are the record of a high conception of duty and character. Such was the conception of the Yahwists. Joseph's character is another fine record of this ideal, both in the picture of him when in prison and so worthily trusted with oversight, and when in power generously forgiving his brothers, and when skilfully caring for the famine-stricken Egyptian nation. The conception given of his brother Judah pleading for a younger brother and the old father is fairly worthy to stand beside the picture of Joseph. Caleb is a noble, wise helper of the leader. Even Balaam, in our story, shows devotion

to a high conception of his deity. Jonathan is beautifully worthy of all the love that David can express for him. David himself, king, statesman, physician, harpist, warrior, has many high traits, although he can be so cruel. There are not a few side lights that are minor in importance only because not prominent. Quite worthy of our authors are the glimpses we get of them in their little sketches of Shem and Japheth, and even of the ventriloquist woman who fed poor Saul.

But the grandest conception of these Yahwists remains that picture of Yahweh as manifest to Moses, which is already mentioned above. There we set it forth as a feature in their theology: here we must point to it again as a signal utterance of their own moral quality. That idea of Yahweh is the Yahwistic ideal of goodness. It is as if they said "The highest possible character we can know must be ever compassionate, ever gracious, patient, loving, and forgiving even to thousands of offenders." Thoughts such as these of the Yahwists imply a noble code of ethics for that age, say 900 B.C. Thus we are led at once to a study of the age of Great Moral Preachers, which followed.

PART III

THE PROPHETS OF GOODNESS

800 TO 700 B.C.

INTRODUCTORY

THE material with which we build is a series of sermons, brief oracles or longer discourses. It is, therefore, best to begin by describing and analysing them. We shall thus gain a clearer vision of the times, the people, and the preachers. Much textual study and critical adjustment must be taken for granted.[1]

After examination of each of the four writers or preachers, we shall summarise their views on the various points that interest them, and then examine how these are connected vitally with the conditions which we have just seen in our study of the Yahwistic writers.

[1] Vide *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, by Professor S. R. Driver, 7th edition, 1897, T. & T. Clark. Add the Commentaries there named: *Die Kleinen Propheten, Uebersetzung mit Anmerkungen*, J. Wellhausen, 1892. Duhm: *Theologie d. Propheten*, 1875; *Das Buch Iesaia*, 1892. Cheyne: *Polychrome Isaiah*, 1897; *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols., 1880. Professor G. A. Smith: *The Twelve (Lesser Prophets)*, 1895. Also the Histories of Israel or of Hebrew Religion by Kittel, Wellhausen, Smend, Stade, Winckler, and the present writer, may be studied.

CHAPTER I

THE PREACHING OF AMOS

The Herdsman of Tekoa, and Prophet in Samaria, about 750 B.C.

As we take in our hands the book or little tract called AMOS, there rises in mind a scene that occurred more than twenty-six hundred years ago.

It is evening on the open market-place of a royal city and sanctuary in the kingdom of Israel. The kingdom is small: it has some 60,000 hereditary owners of farm lands, and therefore the whole population may be half a million. Their whole country is about 100 miles in length from south to north by 75 miles in breadth from the Mediterranean coast eastward. But this little people was nearly the whole of the Hebrew tribe that believed in the tribal god Yahweh, their fellow-tribesman, father, mighty protector.

The folk were comfortable and happy and had been so for many a day under their king, Jeroboam II. There was food and raiment and rest for man and beast, and the people were multiplying. There was a good import trade of cattle and fruits into this royal city from the southern sister land of Judah, which was about a quarter of the size of Israel.

It is evening on that market-square in the fair

city that crowned a goodly hill and rose far above the plains and vineyards on the hillsides. As we watch, the level rays of sunset are striking across the pinnacles and house-tops, and the market-square is growing dusk within its wide boundary walls. The campfires begin to fling their beams and shadows across the gathered herds. The shepherds and merchants from afar, after the day of busy traffic, are all quieting for rest. Suddenly, there sounds a voice above all others. It is a solemn, startling cry, full of stern condemnation and warning. There is manly reasoning, too, and a singularly high ideal and theory quaintly touched with the dreamy ways and fantastic fancies of the time. What is it all about? Who is he? And who his hearers, and what his sermon? We shall see presently what he preached and that will tell us best what the preacher was and what the character of his hearers.

But first of all we must gather a few of the features of the times from the general history of the people as that has been read in Hebrew literature as a whole, and also in the literature of neighbouring peoples. Especially must we go to Assyria, the imperial nation which so often invaded and subjugated the Hebrew lands, and which besides recorded its deeds and thinking on the clay tablets of its great libraries. These we are now able to see and read, to our amazement, exactly as they were written so long ago. This Assyrian literature is but newly discovered, but while we possess almost no Hebrew document that is more than 1,000 years old, these Assyrian MSS. are as old as the times they speak of. Some are as old as Amos him-

self, the prophet of 2,600 years ago, and none of them were written later than 600 B.C.

These various sources and reports bring us into trouble at once when we compare them. For we find that during this century, or from the beginning of it in 800 B.C. down to the fall of Samaria in 722, the Hebrew writers would have us believe that the sum of the reigns of the kings of Judah was twenty years greater than that of the kings of Israel. Again, the kings of Israel, according to the Hebrew stories, reigned twenty years longer than the Assyrian documents say they did. The Assyrians are more likely to be correct, for the reason that their MSS. have lain untouched, unaltered for all these ages; and that they kept a very strict calendar. They recorded their dates and we can test these by the mention they make of eclipses, notably of a great one which fell in the year 763.[1] Guided, then, by the best comparative use of these sources, we can draw out the table of dates given here upon our chart.

But now pause a moment at that eclipse in 763. That was a great era for all the world, as it would be an alarming event for all the East. We remember the important events:

The Greeks reckoned their dates by Olympiads which they began to count in 776 B.C. So the Greeks began to think with exactness about this time.

The Romans counted their dates from the Founding of the City in 753 B.C.: therefore, they too began

[1] G. Smith's *Eponym Canons* (Bagster, London, 1875) gives the astronomical details of this Eclipse, calculated by Mr. Airy, Astronomer Royal.

Some Chief Hebrew Events with Probable Dates.

KINGS OF JUDAH	KINGS OF ISRAEL.	PROPHETS.	FOREIGNERS.
1017. David.	David.		
937. Rehoboam	Jeroboam.		
889	Omri	*Elijah.*	
877	Ahab	*Elisha.*	
842. Q. Athaliah	Jehu.		Shalmaneser II.
800			Rammannirari III.
787. Uzziah.			
782			Shalmaneser III.
781	Jeroboam II.		
776			The first *Olympiad* began.
772			Asur-dan III.
763	Great eclipse visible over the Orient and mentioned in Assyrian Eponym Canon.		
760		*Amos.*	
753			*Rome*, A.U.C.
			Asur-nirari.
745			Tiglathpileser III.
740	Zacharia	*Hosea.*	
	Shallum.		
	Menahem.		
737. Jotham	Pekahiah	*Isaiah.*	
735. Ahaz	Pekah.		
733	Hosea.		
732			Syria subdued.
727		*Micah*	Shalmaneser IV.
725	Siege of Samaria	and of	Tyre.
722	Fall of Samaria	under	Sargon II.
720			Sargon defeated in Babylon; victorious at Raphia.
715. Hezekiah.			
711			Philistia subdued.
710			Babylon subdued.
705	Hezekiah's alliance against Assyria.		
703-1	Defeated and subjugated at Eltekeh and Jerusalem.		

to see themselves in these years and to count their power.

A greater birth of thought burst forth in the little Hebrew sister lands at this very time. About 760 Amos preached in Samaria, or "Beth-El," and in 740 Hosea also began there. In 737 Isaiah preached in Jerusalem. What a galaxy of light in the middle of that eighth century!

Just at this time Assyria was putting forth from its capital, Nineveh, a more vigorous and relentless effort for world empire than ever before.[1] About the year 800 B.C. the Assyrian Rammannirari III. subdued all Western Syria, and especially Damascus; and also touched Israel slightly. Damascus had been the special troubler of Samaria, therefore the kingdom of Israel was, to some extent, freed from that burden. The next Assyrian kings (Shalmaneser III., 782–772, and Asurdan III., 772–753) hit Damascus harder still, perhaps meaning thus to open up thoroughly their way toward the west and south. All this allowed Jeroboam II. to reign from 781–740 in comparative freedom while acknowledging, perhaps, the suzerainty of Assyria in some easy way. So the first half of this century, or about 800–740, was a period of prosperity in Israel and also in Judah.

Experience of such times in history, and notably experience in these days of our own bids us expect just the moral condition that we find common in the time of Amos. In the midst of the comforts, successes, freedom and wealth of Jeroboam's reign there arose some of the hardest economical problems.

[1] See Kittel, History of Israel, ii., 250.

There grew up great monopolies of land, and cruelties toward the landless. There was nothing that could not be bought and sold. Gain must be got at all costs. Religion and worship grew to be largely a self-gratification. The sacred feasts described above as solemn means of tribal and religious fellowship, became revellings where the strongest got most and paid least. Drunkenness, gluttony, violence, impurity grew in the midst of religious exercises. The worst feature in our eyes was the unchastity. It had a peculiarly religious origin and grew to be fairly devilish. There were modest souls who had high ideals and noble longings; but these were pushed to the wall. The meek and the feeble were crushed.

The Utterances of Amos.

Now we shall open the book itself. We have been presupposing a study of it in the last few sentences.

It is probable that Amos wrote out his sermons, as we have them, after they had been preached. The steady correctness and good style of the utterances favour this opinion. It is quite possible, however, that he wrote down a MS. of them soon after he returned to his southern pastures, and perhaps he himself carried this back to Samaria to be read again. Some one possessed a copy there doubtless, and so Hosea might come to know the utterances and to use them. In part he controverted them.

It is possible to detect a few marginal notes or glosses which have found their way into the text of Amos, and we shall omit these in making our analy-

sis. But on the whole the book is singularly free from such alterations.

The book properly begins at ii. 6, where the sermons to Israel open, but the previous section, i. 1–ii. 3, is probably Amos's own preface to the whole. The first words are, "It is from Zion that Yahweh is going to roar, and from Jerusalem." The writer is a man of Judah. And we may suppose that he could hardly speak these things aloud in Samaria.

Then he arranges wonderfully a plea for a hearing from Israel. He counts the surrounding peoples in regular order, thus, northeast, southwest, northwest, southeast, and east; then he declares that they have each done wrongs upon wrongs and therefore Yahweh will scourge them. The list of wrongs cited gives Amos's own picture of the state of morals he saw about him. The wrongs are cruel invasions of one people by another; slave-hunting by one tribe, even among a neighbour people related to them by blood; implacable hatreds; brutal grasping of land; sacrilege and irreverence. Such practices were common. It was not formal slips, or ceremonial defects that Amos saw and struck at. He concludes each charge with a warning that is not quite definite,—perhaps he dare not be definite—but which seems to say, "The Assyrian Destroyer is coming. Yahweh is leading him hither."

And now he turns to Israel (the Judah passage is a gloss) and he cries, "I have condemned your neighbours, now I turn upon you; you too have added wrong on wrong." Here begins a second section ii. 6–16. In this the indictment is more pointed. It charges the Israelites with silencing the righteous

and robbing the unresisting poor of their few rods of ground. Human sympathy is quenched in greed that pants even after the handful of dust the mourner throws upon his head. Men violate hapless girls and plunder such as bring to temples their little gifts of garments, or choice food, as tokens of their desire to atone for sin. They mock and mulct the taxpayers. In cruelty they exercise their strength and fear no retaliation.

But worse than this, they did these wrongs at the house of worship and at the feasts, when all were supposed to eat together with Yahweh in mutual trust and happiness. They acted as if Yahweh liked their ways, as if their character were his. But all the time over against their cruelty to the poor stood his kindness, to which they were constant witnesses. In their long desert wanderings he had provided them with food, and in spite of powerful enemies he had given them possession of their present homes. But he has given them still higher gifts; his revelations and inspirations, through his representatives the prophets. Yet by efforts to silence the prophets they had tried to silence Yahweh their god, who was ruler of hosts, and who loved them as his own. What was sure to follow? They should surely be crushed; the fugitives should barely escape, clothed in their own nakedness.

The third oracle, iii. 1–8, has a formal opening which is thenceforward often used: "Hear ye this." And now we have certainly one of those cries by the evening camp-fire, or uttered to noonday crowds.

Amos here claims a right to speak to them in Yahweh's name; for they claim to be his, and that he and they are one in all joys, dangers, and aims. And surely they who are one must agree in their thoughts and plans; therefore, it is time they gave heed to his mind and his purpose. Do any say there is no occasion for alarm? Look at the cloud on yonder horizon! Hark to the lion's roar from the slopes of Lebanon! Who causes that? Does not Yahweh cause all things, as we believe? There must be a cause for the lion's roar, so too for the tread of approaching armies, for the troubled faces and paled cheeks in their midst. Do they laugh at him as a fanatical alarmist? Do they not all believe that Yahweh talks with his servants, the prophets? Aye, that whisper of his can be heard by any sensible man who will but hearken. The prophet is not responsible for his alarming words. "The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"

The fourth oracle, iii. 9–iv. 3, is the sentence of Yahweh upon Israel. But there is now a notable addition. Outsiders are able as well as Israelites to appreciate its matter. Amos cries it aloud. From Samaria's hilltop to the Philistine coast he sends it. It is to run to all men far down the great caravan road, even to Egypt. He summons foreigners to witness the tragedy of sin and its doom. "Lo! come, judge ye, and see this people's god inspecting them and destroying them!" From highest luxury they shall fall to uttermost extremity. They are lolling on ivory couches; they shall hang like a torn shred from the fangs of a ravenous wolf. Do the men of Israel

retort, "What have foreigners to do with this? Why add such publication of disgrace to the pains thou promisest? What have Philistia and Egypt to do with us, that they should come to look and laugh?" Amos replies that their god, Yahweh, is the ruler and god of all peoples. He is Lord of Hosts, and the day of declaration of his overlordship is at hand. Here is the first plain declaration that Yahweh is overlord. The belief is just awakening. We saw an early suggestion of it in the Yahwist's story of David. This faith is to grow by and by to a clear vision that there is only one great First Cause. This is the beginning of the preaching of a monotheistic conception. It is important to notice that this doctrine arises together with a faith that Yahweh is a righteous god. The god of Amos, who insists on goodness, is the god who has all power over all. Such are our prophet's grand corner-stones. The stream of his denunciation rushes on to its keenest bitterness as he declares that the women who ought to breathe out tenderness are the instigators to crimes and sharers in drunken orgies. The apparent worshippers, also, at the temples and the sacrificial tables go thither through greed of eating and drinking. The seemingly tender and reverent are harpies and gluttons. Selfishness is everywhere triumphant.

Chapter iv. 4–13 constitutes a fifth section. The selfish talk as if Yahweh were at their gluttonous feasts in the temples at Gilgal, at Bethel, at Beersheba; but they know themselves that that claim is false. Amos holds indeed that their god is always present. They remember surely, that famine just

past; it was Yahweh who wrought that. It was his present finger that destroyed the bread. They remember that recent drought. It was he who dried up the springs. They remember the plagues, the fevers, and the sores they have suffered from. It was he who inflicted these. That pestilence in their army was his work. He smote the young flower of the troops and the horses that they died. That earthquake! He did that: he stamped his foot, he trod upon the hilltops. He came seeking worshippers in the high places where his altars stand, but in anger at the evil he shook hills and land and overturned their cities. And yet they have not seen him. Neither have they bowed in fear, nor returned from forsaking Yahweh. Now Amos reaches one of his finest heights. He speaks with manly pleading. He does not denounce, or pronounce the expected sentence, but he pleads with them to face Yahweh in all these things, to look and see, and then they will bow before him and shall become truly his people.[1]

The sixth section v. 1–15 is the climax of all the oracles. This highest and centrally characteristic utterance of the man is almost sublime in conception. We may best catch its significance by regarding it as a sort of dialogue between Amos and his audience.

He cries, "Ye die: scarce a tenth shall remain alive."

They reply, "Tell us, then, what to do."

He answers, "Seek Yahweh the creator, the life-giver, seek him and ye shall find life."

[1] It has been suspected that this passage is not from Amos: but a full view of his thinking rather justifies its genuineness.

"Yes, come," say they, "let us hasten to the sanctuaries."

"No, no," cries he. "Seek not these; not Bethel, not Gilgal. Seek not temples; seek Yahweh and live!"

They ask, astonished: "Is he not there?"

Amos answers, "No! for you pervert the truth, deceive the honest, destroy the righteous, kill the reformer. Yahweh will not be seen among you."

Now they are angry, but Amos cries the more plainly: "All that is good is assailed by you. You rob and are luxurious; you revel in wrong. You fight against the just and against all justice, and even against the courts of justice. Good flies from you, therefore, good men hide from you, and Yahweh goes with the good!" As they tremble, he says, "You see the only way to Yahweh. Find Good, and ye shall find Yahweh and his presence shall bring you life." This is remarkable. Here is the first writing prophet, and his kernel thought is that Yahweh cares first for goodness and always for goodness. The supreme god and life-giver abides where goodness is.

The next section, ch. v. 16–vi. 14, is a twofold cry of woe to those who clamour for "Yahweh's Day." Yahweh, it is true, is not in the sanctuaries; but his Day will come, when his way shall prevail and all things be righted. Here we have the first appearance of a belief in a coming Day of Judgment, or at least the germ of that belief. Amos answers: that day will be a day of blessing to the good only; but ye are not good. Let righteousness flow as a mighty stream; then shall there be bliss: but the

false and hypocrites shall be flung out of the land, far away from all that Yahweh loves and can bless. Here emerges the idea that to leave the land and soil of Yahweh is to be separated from Yahweh's purpose and power to bless.

Now Amos turns to another and an opposite class. "Woe also to them who laugh at these and say: 'Oh, no, let not the day of Yahweh come!'" They count religion a gloomy thing and Amos a gloomy man. The princes of Samaria and those of Jerusalem, too, say that all is well if they only keep up the national forms of worship. Are they not all comfortable in mind and estate? They wish to hear no more of the complaints of this troubler. How shall the prophet meet this sort of ungodliness? He racks his soul for argument. Then in agony of mind he cries: "Yahweh takes oath by himself—what can be sure, if this be not! Yahweh swears that as surely as there is a god, so surely shall all this godless ease go down in ruin." He paints a fearful picture of a plague. The dead cart will roll through the deserted streets until every voice is still in death, or hushed in terror lest any utterance of Yahweh's name may wake again his avenging wrath.

Section vii. 1–viii. 3. Amos sees in vision the gracious Yahweh answering prayer, granting forgiveness and averting famine and a great fire. But at last the grace of Yahweh is declared exhausted: there can be no more forgiveness for Israel.

At this point the great priest, Amaziah, interferes. "Out with the puritan prophet from King Jeroboam's kingdom! Let him away to the southern despised

Judah to preach there, if so he thinks to gain pence and bread from the folk he frightens." This manner of accusation is thus ancient as well as modern. The reply of Amos is so awful in its cursing, that we dare scarcely describe it. The foundation of it is however confidence in the man's soul that he has had personal fellowship with god. He feels he has no formal or hereditary prerogative. He knows only that his soul is moved, beyond all power of resistance, to condemn the wrongs. That moving is to him Yahweh's moving. The reply shows once more, also, how Amos counts Hebrew soil as the only place where life can be really clean, godly, and happy.

The prophet now hastens on to another picture of Yahweh's revelation, a vision of judgment to come. Even the temples of Yahweh shall be smitten to ruin.

The last section of oracles runs from viii. 4–ix. 10,[1] and is a summary recapitulation of all we have already heard; a cry of indignation at the suffering of the feeble and the landless, a threat that there shall be an eclipse,[2] a prediction also that there shall be floods and fierce plagues; and amid all this there shall be a wailing reminding men of the story of Egypt's loss of its first-born. Yet the worst suffering shall be hunger for an oracle. The prophet's voice shall be heard no more speaking in the name of Yahweh, neither in this royal city nor in the sanctuaries, from the farthest north at Dan to the farthest south

[1] The remaining verses are evidently a post-exilic appendix.

[2] This very significant mention of an eclipse is one reason why we are led to think that Amos lived and spoke about 760 B.C.

at Beersheba. The warning draws to an end with the oracle that there can be no escape at all from Yahweh's stroke, either in earth or sea or in the dark region below where the dead lie hidden, silent but conscious of their awful lot. Such conception of a dark abode of the dead, and the belief in the continuance of ghostly life there were, therefore, quite current in the time of Amos and his hearers.

And now we start, almost with horror, at his last words. We may call them the gospel of Amos, for they tell us how he thought the world was to be made clean from all sin. He writes: "All the sinners of my people shall die by the sword." A terrible gospel; yet how firm is the faith in coming cleanness everywhere.

Such are the oracles of Amos. We shall gather their great faiths in summary when we have analysed the other great prophets who followed immediately after him. But we may point out here that in one sense Amos was the greatest of the four—greater than even Isaiah—for he led the way. He rose as the first to deny in writing the national doctrine of sacrifices and sanctuaries. First and alone he faced people, princes, and priest with inflexible demands for reform.

CHAPTER II

THE PROPHET HOSEA

740 TO 720 B.C.

AMOS preached amid the successful days of King Jeroboam II. of the north and of King Uzziah of the southern State. Jeroboam died probably in the year 740 B.C.: then at once began a long succession of political revolutions.

We read of the frequent changing of kings in Hosea's prophecies. *E.g.*, in

vii. 7, "All their kings have fallen."
viii. 4, "They make kings."
x. 3, "We have no king."
xiii. 10, "Where is thy king?" "We have no king."

So, too, the book tells of frequent appeals to the court of Assyria for help. *E.g.*, in

v. 13, "Ephraim went to Assyria";
vii. 11, "Ephraim goes to Assyria";
viii. 9, "They went off to Assyria";
xiv. 4, "They will say 'Assyria is not going to help us.'"

The story in 2 Kings xv. 19 records that "Pul (*i.e.*, Tiglath-pileser III., 745–727 B.C.), king of Assyria, came against the land . . . and Menahem (king of Israel) gave Pul a thousand talents of silver (£375,000 = $1,875,000) . . . to confirm the king-

dom in his hands." In the Assyrian records we read that Tiglath-pileser in the eighth year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 738 B.C., "took tribute of Menahem of Samaria and of Hiram of Tyre and of Rezin of Damascus."

From these statements we have sufficient evidence that those were troubled times. Hosea's frequent notes of these anarchic conditions as given above—and we shall find many more of them—suggest that he was intimately acquainted with governmental affairs. Hosea was a man of the court, and in this respect, as in others, was very different from Amos. The story of those revolutions and regicides, of terrors at the court and sufferings in the whole country, is somewhat as follows:

Jeroboam II. died in 740 B.C., after a long and comfortable reign; his son Zachariah succeeded him.[1] But this son ruled only six months. He was murdered by one Shallum, who hatched a conspiracy and procured a fellow called Qobolam[2] to assassinate Zachariah. Hosea must have known all about this horrid deed, and he saw this Shallum made king in Samaria. There is good reason for thinking that the Egyptian court had something to do with this conspiracy. We shall soon see how thoroughly they were plotting to wrest Palestine to themselves from the overlordship of Assyria. Jeroboam II. had evidently been a faithful ally or even vassal of Assyria, and probably there was an ill-natured party always stirring up dislike of Assyria

[1] See 2 Kings xv. 8, 10.

[2] A. V. and R. V. ascribe the deed directly to Shallum, and translate *Qobolam* "before the people." 2 K. xv. 10.

and of Jeroboam because of his fealty. It was Jeroboam's strength that had held this treachery in check; but under his son the mischief-makers succeeded, and King Zachariah was assassinated. The writer of 2 Kings xv. believes that this usurpation was a judgment on the royal house because of their ancestor Jehu's usurpation of the throne, a hundred years before. We shall find that Hosea agrees with this opinion; both writers expect judgment to fall on the royal house for this sin. And yet Elisha, another prophet who lived in Jehu's time, had directed this very usurpation. The new king Shallum had, however, a powerful rival. Shallum lived in Samaria, the capital city of the kingdom. But the town or fortress of Tirzah had been the capital in earlier days; many kings had reigned there before Samaria was built. In Tirzah there was evidently a set of honourable people, soldiers, one of whom was named Menahem, *i.e.*, "the man who greatly compassionates." He was evidently from the east of Jordan, for he is called "ben-Gadi," and he sometimes led about a troop of Gileadites, *i.e.*, of East Jordan men. This officer learned of Shallum's deed of usurpation, and marched at once on Samaria and overthrew him after one month of his kingship. Menahem was himself at once raised to the throne. A picture of these troubles is drawn in Hosea vii.

By these movements the Assyrian party came again into power. The Assyrian emperor knew how to suck the blood of the strife-racked little nation. We have heard above how he charged Menahem a thousand talents, *i.e.*, nearly $2,000,000, or £375,000

for confirming him on his throne. Every farmer in the little land had to pay $31, *i.e.*, £6 4s. Farming was all the business of the people, either in vine-culture, corn-growing, or cattle-raising. Since each family was taxed this $31, there must have been only 60,000 such families, or a population of 300,000. This is counting five persons to a family; but even with ten persons to a family, which is an extreme average, there would be a population of only 600,000 in the whole country.

We can imagine the suffering such a tax would cause. It would shorten the food of every worker and weaken his strength; it would deprive him of seed-corn and of water for irrigation which had to be pumped or carried to the fields; the soil would become less productive, the harvests feebler; and one year of weakened tillage would mean increased weakness next year. Such revolutions and invasions and tributes meant agrarian loss, then gloom, discontent, more rebellion, and so further loss. All this explains clearly Hosea's preaching in ch. ii., that Yahweh, their own real *ba'al*, or god who fertilises and gives all fruit, will take away the corn and the wine in their season and will blow away the wool and flax.

There is a passage, ch. x. 5, that illustrates well the trouble caused by the tribute. This says that the inhabitants of Samaria are growing anxious about an ox-like image. Now this image was their sanctuary. Suppose we to-day were condemned to send away as tribute our treasured works of religious art and suppose these emblems were virtually the whole of our sanctuaries! Do we wonder that those people la-

mented when they sent away the gold-topped, ox-headed pillar against which they slew their victims for the commensal feasts? We speak rather of communion feasts to-day, but these are not unlike those. Every one among people, priests, princes, prophets, and Hosea too, were excited and lamenting when even this bit of precious treasure was carried away to Assyria, or perhaps to Egypt.[1]

Amid such troubles it is no wonder that Menahem's reign was not very long. The unhappiness and discontent would become patriotic dissatisfaction with the manager of the nation: they would say the Assyrian patronage was too dearly bought. The pro-Egyptian party would eagerly foment this discontent and would do their best to produce popular mutiny. They succeeded ere long.

But there was a nearer unfriendly people. A record by Tiglath-pileser III. tells us in the Assyrian's own words that, "Nineteen districts of the town Hamath (*i.e.*, the district of Syria) . . . on the sea . . . which in their faithlessness made revolt to Azrijahu, I added to the territory of Assyria." Azrijahu is Uzziah-Azariah, king of Judah; and his court, under his son Jotham's regency, were annoying Assyria and were fomenting insurrection in Syria. This defiance of Assyria by the little kingdom of Judah must have seemed a taunt to Israel, and a call to the anti-Assyrians in Samaria to revolt, and even to depose their king Menahem, who was an Assyrian dependent.

[1] "Muçur (Egypt) and its Arab King," says *Encyc. Bib.* on the name *Jareb*

After a brief rule, lasting from 740 to 737, Menahem died a natural, but probably a premature death. Read in illustration of the troubles he bore, Hos. vii. 5. "On our king's royal day the princes were sick with wine-fever. . . . Like an oven was their mind with cunning. Their rage slept all night, but in the morning it burst out like a smouldering fire." Menahem's son, Pekahiah, succeeded, but ruled two years only. The revolutions were not ended yet. Hosea shows us how the two great parties, pro-Assyrian and pro-Egyptian, were cunningly carrying on their coquetries and conspiracies, so ominous for any country that is fated to be placed thus between two strong imperial rivals. See Hos. vii. 11, "Ephraim is like a simple, silly dove: they cry to the Egyptians, they go to the Assyrians." A conspiracy against poor Pekahiah was not long in culminating. The arch-conspirator was the king's own captain of soldiery, his so-called "Third Man," by name Pekah, one who had thus a title very like the king's own. He was also called Ben-Remal-Yah. The king fell, killed apparently in a broil close to the palace; and with him fell also a faithful body-guard of fifty men from East Jordan who had doubtless been family retainers of King Menahem the Gadite and his son in their old eastern home.

Pekah-ben-Remal-Yah took the government 735 B.C. He now showed still more fully his talent for conspiracy, for he began the so-called Syro-Ephraimitic war against Judah and its King Ahaz.

Azariah and Jotham were gone. Ahaz became king at the same time as Pekah, in 735. This prince

of Judah seems to have felt shy about keeping up his grandfather's opposition to Assyria and to Assyrian overlordship over Palestine. But Pekah had won the throne because he was anti-Assyrian; so he joined in a confederation with Syria against Assyria and against the pro-Assyrian Ahaz of Judah. Isaiah's contempt for this confederation is expressed in Isa. viii., where the great prophet warns the men of Judah not to join it. The conspiring kings, Pekah of Samaria and Rezin of Damascus, had asked Ahaz to join them and to fight against Assyria as his grandfather had done. Ahaz wisely refused. "Then," said they, "we will march on Jerusalem and depose you and set Tobh-El (the deity's pleasure) on the throne." Hosea's book may contain some references to these troubles, but there is nothing that we can regard as such so definitely as we recognise his mention of Menahem's conflicts. This suggests that Hosea wrote before these events in Judah 734 B.C.

Ahaz went to Damascus to meet the Assyrian emperor Tiglath-pileser, carrying a large tribute to him; and soon after this Damascus fell before the Assyrians. The fair Syrian city was harried again and again between 734 and 732 B.C. Rezin, king of Syria, was thus at length utterly silenced. Tiglath-pileser ravaged all the northern districts of Palestine, Galilee to the west and Gilead eastwards. Meanwhile Pekah, prince of Samaria, had grown so weak that a conspiracy against him in the Assyrian interest had speedy success. Perhaps the conspirators' aim was to turn away Tiglath-pileser's anger: certainly

the city was saved from immediate ruin, while Pekah was deposed. Strangely enough, we read that the head of the new conspiracy was named Hosea. He is also called "ben-El," or "ben-Elah," which means either that he was a son of a god, *i.e.*, a godly man, or that he was of the family bearing the name "Terebinth," and the latter name may mean the same as ben-Beeri, *i.e.*, "member of a family dwelling by a well." In either case Hosea the prince may have been the same as Hosea the prophet. The prophet Hosea was a man of the court as we have seen; and perhaps he was now moved by his own judgment, and urged on by others to lay hold of the government in the name of Yahweh. The writer of the books of Kings, who is a man of Judah, gives a high religious character to this king Hosea, and says that he ruled in quietness, doubtless by acknowledging Assyrian suzerainty, from 733 to 727. Then Tiglath-pileser III. died and was succeeded in Assyrian rule by Shalmaneser IV. This prince marched westward and was duly honoured by king Hosea with large presents, these being, no doubt, the tokens and promise of a continuance to the new emperor of the tribute paid to his predecessor.

Events on the Upper Nile or in Arabian muçur, now left a southern prince So or Sewe (Sabako?)[1] free to

[1] The author leans somewhat to the prevailing and traditional view of the political relation between Israel and Egypt at this time. It should, however, be stated that *Hugo Winckler* has advanced evidence in his Article: *Muçri*, etc., which to several scholars, and to myself, is conclusive against it. The "conspiracy" of 2 Kings xvii., 4 f. was with the *North Arabian* land *Muçri* (not *Miçraim*-Egypt). The So, or Sewe, spoken of is not *Sabako*, with whom he has been

turn again to plots in the Asiatic direction. He managed to win the king Hosea so far that an Israelitish embassy was sent to him. Hosea failed in that same year to send his tribute to Nineveh. Perhaps he and his half million people had not enough tribute for two suzerains; not enough ravin for two wolves! 2 Kings xvii. 3–6 tells us much about this and says: "The king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hosea in that he sent messengers to So, prince of Muçri, and did not cause a gift to go up to the king of Assyria year by year. So the king of Assyria shut him up and held him as a prisoner in the house of detention." When we read immediately afterward that the Assyrians then invaded Israel and besieged Samaria for three years, we cannot help thinking that the king Hosea must have been submitting to the Assyrian against his people's will. We may conclude that Hosea did not really rebel; but, while anxious to obey his suzerain, he was helpless against the anti-Assyrian, pro-Egyptian or "Southern" party among the people.

Hosea ended his life probably in a prison-house, or in some sort of confinement in Nineveh. There he must have heard how for three years his people were able to resist Shalmaneser IV., who was not one of the strongest of Assyrian monarchs. But when Shalmaneser died in 722 B.C., his successor Sargon knew

commonly, though not without hesitation identified, but *Sib'e*, the *tartan* of *Pir'u*, the King of Muçri. Philistia, Judah, Edom and Moab, as we learn from an inscription of Sargon II., gave presents to this same Pir'u hoping to secure his co-operation against the Assyrian king.—[Craig.]

how to end at once the long siege. He took the city, destroyed it utterly, and ruined the northern kingdom of Israel forever, carrying captive many of its people and transplanting colonies of foreigners into the utterly subjugated land. Such a terrible end of his people, the people of Yahweh, must have brought sadness over the last days of the tender prophet, whether he were king or not, whose oracles had always been full of faith that Yahweh would spare and make Israel flourish as the vine, blossom as the rose, and lift her head as the glorious cedars of Lebanon. It will be seen, as we now proceed to read the oracles, how essential to the understanding of them is this view of his circumstances.

The Utterances of Hosea.

If the times were hard for the people to bear and also difficult for us to unravel, Hosea's book is almost a riddle to analyse into any orderly plan, or even to translate fully into our own language. It has been much more injured in its transmission than has the book of Amos. Again and again passages occur in it which the careful Hebraist must simply pass as untranslatable. There are clearly, also, many passages added by readers as marginal remarks, and incorporated later into the body of the text by careless copyists. If Hosea, as king, was taken prisoner to Nineveh, when his city and state were ruined, it is easy to suppose that all we possess of his oracles must have been preserved with difficulty. He or a friend seems to have written out carefully chapters i.–iii., and these we

can easily understand. But nearly the whole of chapters iv.–xiv. seems like a collection of fragmentary and disconnected sayings preserved by memory or from notes, made either before or after delivery by the prophet, or possibly by some one else who heard the discourse.

In spite of all these difficulties, analysis of all the sayings is possible. Chapters iv.–ix. 7 are oracles of direct condemnation, describing the wrongs done by government and abetted by princes and priests. This is followed by an apparent reference (ix. 8, 9) to the laughter of some who heard him. They are amazed by the seeming madness of this good "man of the spirit," as they tauntingly call him.

In ch. ix. 10–xi. 6 follow a series of lessons from the past, referring to pre-Egyptian and Egyptian days, the Exodus, and the founding of the kingdom. The Yahwist's story is implied as well known. The close in ch. xi. 7–11 is an outburst of faith in the love of Yahweh, which is far beyond all that their past theories would lead them to expect. It is a cry of uncontrollable yearning, and also of faith in Yahweh's love and his salvation yet to come.

Next come in cc. xii. and xiii. pictures of the everyday conduct of men, especially in merchanting; with a final avalanche of condemnation and a summons to all the powers of evil to help in the destruction of the nation. This is closed by chapter xiv., or at least vss. 1–9 much as were sections iv.–ix. 7 and ix. 10–xi. 6. The words are another cry of tenderness in the form of a moving plea by Yahweh, a penitential answer by the people, and then a gracious prom-

ise of blessing, figured as delightful fertility in all fruits and flowers and trees.

We may now look at the oracles in closer detail. And first we analyse chaps. i.–iii.

The title is not from Hosea's hand; it makes mistakes about his date. The remainder of the chapter brings us into the third great difficulty in the study of Hosea, *viz.*: his personal experiences in his home. The description of Hosea is given as if by another; it may, however, have been written by himself descriptively out of some degree of modesty. It is a sad story twice retold in ii. and iii. Hosea's wife had been unfaithful. He is a true Semite in his belief in absolute Providence in all affairs.[1] Hosea, therefore, had no doubt that Yahweh ordained and caused his troubled experience. Whether or not the events happened as pictured, we need not inquire; Hosea sees that this picture of a sad home might very adequately be used for teaching purposes. The relation hitherto held by Semites to be essential between a people and its deity and its land was beginning to be distrusted. Troubles were coming which, according to the old faith, should never come. Some part of the union of three partners, deity, people, land, was failing. The people were not getting due support from the land. They were beginning to think that their old deity was not so good a *baʿal*, or land owner and fertiliser, as they needed. They would try another one of the *baʿals*, or several others. The land, so the picture puts it, would try another divine part-

[1] Mohammed's Islamic doctrine of fate is only a logical utterance of genuine Semitism.

ner. So the land is adulterous. And "the land" is not so much an expression for "the people," as it is really the same as the people; to a Semite they were all one organic living whole.

But now observe a fair feature of Hebrew home-life. They used to call their children by names which were little sentences expressing the faith of the parents. So Hosea gave each child a name that was an oracle. The eldest lad is named Jezreel, *i.e.*, "A god is to sow our fields;" and the boy becomes a perpetual prophecy of this faith. But further, the name is the same as that of the very fertile region where a hundred years before (in 842 B.C.) the prince Jehu had destroyed his king.[1] The name is intended to recall that horrible deed and to awaken remorse for it. For, says Hosea, it was murder, and our god will avenge it. Strange but true that this prophet preached a religious faith diametrically opposed to that of a previous prophet as great as Elisha, who had directed Jehu to slay, in Yahweh's name, king Ahab's successor. Hosea's inspired opinion flatly condemns that of the great Elisha. The second child of Hosea is named Lo-Ruhamah, *i.e.*, "Utterly unpitied one." She is to be a constant suggestion that the pity and kindness of Yahweh, given through men like king Menahem, are all in vain. The next boy is Lo-Ammi, "Not my people"; his name brings to men's lips the sad cry: "We are not Yahweh's kinsmen!" The theory of tribal relation between Israel and Yahweh is passing away.[2] This will help us later on to

[1] 2 Kings ix. f.

[2] See W. R. Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, lectures III. and VII., for lucid exposition of this change.

understand the tender oracle of ch. xi., "I am God and not man. I will not destroy." The tribal relation is broken. Yahweh is not bound to do as men of a clan would do, in slaying every clansman who is unfaithful to his clan duties.

As we pass on to chapter ii. we find the same story of home sorrows repeated. But now the meaning of it all is discussed. The consequence is clear: the children of such a home or land cannot claim the deity's help or love. Then Hosea examines the sources of the unfaithfulness. The unfaithful wife, or, by interpretation, the unfaithful land and its people, had enjoyed certain possessions and pleasures. The giver was faithful; but the wife had forgotten who gave her these. She was trying to find the givers, and looking to lovers other than her old tribal *ba'al*, Yahweh. Such "adultery" was making everything worse. For he was the true source, and leaving him would be leaving the fountain of bliss and all its streams. But now Hosea rises through this very unhappiness to a conception of a way of salvation. Yes, says he, she will go away and so lose all her joys, her wine, her rightful or wrongful pleasures, her food as well. But then she will be hungry, cold, alone, and this will make her return to her real friend. So Hosea theologises and works out doctrines of sin and suffering, of repentance and regeneration, of knowledge and mind.[1] Then he proceeds to set down the still higher result; they shall know Yahweh, his nature, and real power, and his devotion which is that of a true husband and

[1] He calls the mind "the heart," for to the Hebrew the heart was the organ of thinking.

no mere *ba'al*. "They shall know Yahweh,"[1] and then all will be well.

We may observe that this theory explains wrong-doing as the result of ignorance, or of the blindness caused by excitement; it supposes that when the sinner is brought by suffering and exile to clearness of mind, he will then certainly turn and become good. The theory will not stand the test of experience. Yet it is a great advance on the thinking of Amos, who never asked whether men could be regenerated.

When the troubled people return, says Hosea, Yahweh will yield, and make the soil fruitful, till all things rejoice. Then earth and beasts and birds and all men will live in a covenant of mutual faithfulness. Here then we come, for the first time among these prophets' oracles, upon the idea of a covenant or an agreement. Hosea loves the word and the idea. He seems to be the father of the great plan of "covenant" which was embodied formally in the Deuteronomic document and then introduced into the constitution of the kingdom of Judah, a century later, by the king Josiah about 620 B.C.

It must be noted, further, that Hosea looks on Yahweh as a somewhat arbitrary being who does not carry on his government on a great eternal plan. Men's actions condition his giving or withholding the rain and sunshine and life. Hosea has not yet attained to the highest knowledge of the nature and character of God. And yet we see that he has made

[1] This passage may have suggested John xvii. 3 to its author.

much progress : is a theologian and psychologist, as Amos was not.

We must not pass from these chapters without reminding readers how full of tender beauty they are in spite of the strange theme, so far from possible use in religious education to-day. Hosea's moral atmosphere is less pure than that of modern Christianity and the book cannot wisely be used in the education of the immature. Yet it has a strange, tender beauty and pathos all its own.

Chapter iii. repeats again the strange story of sin and the Hosean theory of conversion, and uses these as a text on which to preach of similar sin and the way of salvation. Hosea speaks here with high estimation of certain instruments of religious worship, *viz.*, *maccebahs*, *i.e.*, stone pillars which marked places where god had seemed to appear, *ephods*, or robes in which men divined and consulted oracles concerning the future or concerning duty, and even *teraphim*, which were some sort of amulets or images of deity. Strange to us, yet true, that Hosea counted these things essential in worship. He evidently expected to see all of them used again.

We reach now the long miscellany, cc. iv.–xiv., which may be divided as we have seen.

In ch. iv. 1–ix. 7 governmental wrongs are specially condemned. A sort of refrain is added in ix. 8, 9. The first part of this section, *viz.*, iv. 1–v. 9, speaks mostly of the faults connected with the ministers of religion. "Let no man scold or blame, for the people are like their priests" (iv. 4).

Without trying the impossible task of analysing

all the prophet's notes, we must mark certain of his great contentions. And first, his attack on the priests leads him to repeat with great emphasis his view that sin is the consequence of ignorance. The teachers do not teach; therefore, the people sin. The teachers neglect to teach because when the people sin they offer sacrifice; and so the priests get more sacrificial fees. It pays the priests to keep the people ignorant.

The prophet relieves the awfulness of the charge, however, by falling back again upon the other explanation of the ignorance. He says that whoredom and drunkenness are common and deliberately practised at the religious feasts; these destroy the heart or mind and then sin increases. He condemns sacrificial feasts where such practices are followed, because they do not belong to Yahweh-worship but are observances in honour of other deities. Here we see, as in Amos, a distinct mark of the nobler character of the Yahweh religion which the prophets taught.

In ch. v. 1–9 Hosea denounces the royal house as equally guilty with the religious leaders. As for the sanctuaries of Mizpah, Tabor, Shittim, where they pretend to seek Yahweh, these are but resorts for feasting and self-indulgence. Yahweh has gone from them. Those who frequent them are his enemies. Hence his judgment comes,—the sword of the invader.

Ch. v. 10–vii. 2. The princes are untrue to tribal land law. They alter boundaries, giving to some men what belongs to others. They look to Assyria and

its King Jareb[1] or is it to "Muçur and its *Arab* king" for help; but it is Yahweh who causes the trouble and him they ought to consult for help. Yahweh ought to be at home in the land, but he forsakes it.

Now follows a passage which seems to express a repentant spirit among the people. The cry rises, "Come, let us return to Yahweh." This means however, "Let us go to the sanctuaries, and spend the customary three days of sacrificial feasting. Then our god will heal us and our land." Hosea declares such religion valueless. At one blow he destroys the idea that he and his fellow Hebrews lived by sacrificial religion. Sacrifices are to him decaying relics of a bygone and imperfect life. He denounces the hoariest and most honourable sanctuaries. Shechem, Gilead and Bethel are dens of highwaymen; their priests are murderous banditti. Love is the true worship, and the knowledge of himself which Yahweh demands is that he delights in loving kindness, not in smoking sacrifices.

In ch. vii. 3–ix. 7 we read of king-making conspirators. These king-makers—indeed the whole people led by them—are madly excited; the war craze is a very drunkenness. Civil war lets now one party exult, now the other; so there are always drums and trumpets and flags and shoutings and jostlings and thrustings. One day it is, Hurrah for Assyria! Another day it is, Hurrah for Egypt! But

[1] It is more than doubtful whether Hosea means Assyria. The prophet is looking to that quarter for the invasion, and there was no Assyrian king named *Jareb*. The idea seems to be that they shall go to Assyria despite their appeals to the king of Jareb(?). Evidently the text is corrupt.—[Craig.]

by the fashion of the times he who cries "For Assyria" praises the gods of that land; and the pro-Egyptian really does homage to Egyptian deities. All this means that Yahweh is nowhere in all their thoughts. He has no share nor voice, as a clansman should have, in the election of the kings. Since their worship consists of feasting and drinking, they have bread and wine indeed; but it is unblessed of the god of their own land and therefore impure. It is bread without hope, the bread of death.

The prophet couples two features of the disturbed condition, and from the union draws a theologian's conclusion. They are paying much gold and silver for the foreign help. It is really these things, the gold and silver, that are their gods. See, then, cries Hosea, see that golden calf which once you held sacred as a symbol of Yahweh! Is it not gold? A workman made it, it is no god! It will be broken up, used as treasure to buy foreign help. In a later passage, x. 6, the idea is repeated and carried farther. Here the prophet reveals his theologising nature and rises to a discovery of the unreality of the divinity of any image.

All these things—the absence of their god, the godlessness of their government, the lack of true character, the careless, cruel ways—shall find retribution. The nation shall be entrapped. They shall go to the foreign land, not as honoured embassies, but as slaves, and shall be cursed therein.

We have in ix. 8 f. a sort of refrain at the close of the section thus described. It seems to tell how the laughter of the people rings out over this "absurd

prophet" of evil. He bows silently before the derision; and then tells the mockers that he may well be driven mad amid such scenes, that he knows very well there are men ready to waylay him and fling him into a deep grave, even if they have to dig it in a sanctuary. Again, therefore, he shows his dislike of the sanctuaries.

Here begins the second section of the Miscellany, as divided above; *viz.*, ix. 10–xi. 6, which reads lessons from the story of the past as Hosea knew it. The contents of this section are still aimed largely against the sanctuaries. They are briefly these:

In the very time of deliverance from Egyptian slavery the worship of lust, which is here called worship of the ba'al of Peor, led all the people easily away. But the consequence of such insult toward Yahweh, who is the creator of all life, is sure to be barrenness and decimation of the people. Hosea sees how surely a lustful excess will ruin men.

At the Gilgal sanctuary there has always been hateful conduct. Gilgal was the name of the landing-place where the wanderers crossed from Moab over Jordan. A Gilgal was also the place of birth of the Hebrew kingdom under Samuel and Saul, according to the Yahwistic story. So Gilgal means "The First Days"; and Hosea's claim is that from the first there has always been such hatefulness. From the earliest days onward they have indeed prospered, but they have always done wickedly. They have received kings from Yahweh, then they have always turned and made conspiracies and murdered their kings. But now they shall have no more prosperity. They shall

give up everything as tribute to Assyria, even their divine images and symbols. Worse shall come. Their altars shall be deserted and overgrown with thistles.

The next note on past story refers to Gibeah. Hosea may be thinking of the horrible deeds described at the close of the book of Judges, or possibly of the failure of the king Saul of Gibeah.

Now he turns to the days of Egyptian slavery, and tells how Yahweh fell in love with them then, and how he wooed them. But they shall go back to just such slavery in Egypt and Assyria too, because they know not Yahweh's love. Here Hosea argues according to the old tribal theory. If one member fails in his duty, the whole tribe must turn against him; so if the people fail in their duty and regard and love toward Yahweh, the patron member of the tribe, then he must turn against them and avenge the dereliction.

But now rings out a refrain. Amid the recollection of those days and the bitter thought of impending ruin the prophet breaks down in his emotion, then speaks as if Yahweh himself were speaking. It is an utterance of love that has been seldom surpassed.[1] The prophet is almost in despair, for his traditional faith allows no way of escape from the awful sentence. In this anguish, wrestling for light, he grasps at his earlier declaration in ch. ii. that the people have really broken away from the old relationship. The tribal union and theory have broken down, by the people's own act. Yahweh is no longer bound to act as a member of the tribe as they are members

[1] See a paraphrase and description of this passage on page 141 f. of the writer's *Old Testament Theology*, vol. i.

and as he used to be. He is not "man." The wrestling soul seizes this faith, and now sees higher faith. A new light breaks and a new doctrine is born. Yahweh is god and not man. He will not enter the city to destroy. His loving kindness will follow its own divine path. He cannot give them up, and will not. They shall indeed go into Egyptian slavery, or into Assyrian exile; but they shall fly back like migrating birds and like doves that wing homewards. "And I will bring them back to their home: thus hath Yahweh said."

The third section includes chaps. xii. and xiii. The outburst of tenderness has passed, which the vision of past days produced. The prophet will turn away from those days; they move him too deeply. But the present life lies all about him and is plainly bad. The Israelites are merchants of the sort who always practise deceit. They think to buy both Egypt and Assyria; but while they draw up an agreement with the one state, they send the indemnity to the other. So too they have always been deceitful, bargaining with the brother Edom, bargaining even with Yahweh's messenger at Bethel. These are touches taken from the Yahwistic story.[1] When they received divine oracles that should lead them to love and justice, even then they went back to deceit. They have trusted to their gains. They have cried with proud satisfaction:

"Ha, Ha! I am rich;
"All is well with me,
"I have gotten property."

[1] See Analysis of J, §§ 17 and 24.

But that property will not set the wrong right; it will not give life nor buy forgiveness. For they do horrible deeds around their sacrificial altars; and those sacrifices and feasts are in honour of devils and not of Yahweh. Therefore, these altars shall be stone-heaps of the fields. They laugh at prophets! But by prophets they received all their past guidance. Was it not a prophet[1] that saved them from Egyptian misery? Yes, and prophets shall still preach and shall cry out doom, and shall bring the doom to pass.

Chapter xiii. hastens on to picture the common worship. They have many symbols of the deity. Hosea rather prized such images in chapter iii., and honoured their use. He does not condemn them utterly here; but he theologises and argues that these deities are like themselves, and not as Yahweh is. Perhaps these images included a lion, a panther, a bear; for the prophet says that Yahweh will prove to be the real lion, tearing them; the real bear, devouring them; and this is to come to them on the very road to Assyria, whither they go in their foolish coquetting.

[1] Hosea describes Moses as a prophet, not as a law-giver. This is almost the very language of the Elohist. See below, Analysis of E, §§ 49 and 63. When we read the Yahwist we feel that this conception is coming: but it is in the Elohist that we get the clear expression of it. Hosea seems plainly to stand after the Yahwist, and just before the Elohist. Indeed, the Elohist and Hosea are singularly related in ideas; they might almost belong to the same small circle. For Hosea loves to turn the story of the past into sermons for the present, just as the Elohist uses the whole course of his narrative. It is also to be observed that apart from this community of conceptions Hosea and the Elohist mention many things as very important to both.

Now Hosea lays his hand, with sarcastic words, on the evils of which they are proud, their king-makings, their assassinations, and declares that after all it is Yahweh who is the great controller in even these events. It was he who gave evil princes; it is he who takes away. Finally, in wrath and in a torrent of sublime sentences he summons all powers to lay hold and help to ruin this evil nation. He chants thus in Yahweh's name:

"Now will I tear thee, ruin thee.
Come, Death, with thy diseases:
Come, Grave, with thy rotting:
Help me!
My mercy is exhausted.
Men shall be sword-hewn;
Women shall be sliced in twain;
Children shall be dashed to death."[1]

Now follows the refrain: Hosea could not let those words be his last. His oracle of loving kindness rises to assert itself again. His voice breaks and he cries:

"O turn ye, O turn Israel.
Turn to Yahweh your god.
'Tis not he has slain you,
But 'tis ye yourselves.
Come, let us cry to him,
Forgive us our trespass."

[1] These are awful words. Strangely time has inverted the order and their meaning (Isa. xxv. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 55). Anger is not eternal.

The prophet sings the answer of Yahweh to this prayer for forgiveness:

> "I will heal, heal, heal all things,
> Men's souls, the land, and all its life.
> I am Israel's best symbol.
> I am their sacred tree:
> From Me comes all their fruit."

CHAPTER III

ISAIAH, PROPHET AND STATESMAN

740 TO 700 B.C.

ISAIAH'S oracles are political speeches by a statesman who is first of all absorbed in the reality and importance of his god, Yahweh. His strength is then devoted to the care of the state and to the guidance of it in righteousness.

The Story of His Statesmanship.

At the outset of our view of the man's condition, we are bound to oppose the common idea, shared indeed to some extent by Professor Kittel, that Isaiah represented the whole people of Israel. The facts of history and geography teach a different and a startling lesson. He lived in Jerusalem, the little mountain-town, capital of Judah, that was scarcely fifty miles square. For the first twenty years of his ministry he had to look out from this home upon the comparatively large country of Israel lying to the north, which was the enemy of his own little land. For the second twenty years of his work Judah stood all alone, for Israel as a people and kingdom was gone. Judah was now no larger than before, but she was much more exposed to invasions from the north.

Judah, in which Isaiah arose, is a poor land lying high upon the hills. Most of it is from 600 to 1,500 feet above sea-level. The soil is not so fertile as

that of happy Ephraim, whose very name means "doubly fruitful." Jerusalem stands 2,300 feet above the sea on stony hills; its more famous portion bears the name "Zion," which is literally "the dry and withering place." The supply of water for times of siege was brought in from distant pools by a tunnel hewn through the rock far down below the higher street levels.

A cameo-like picture of the whole man, and, strange to say, even of his whole growth, is given us in chapter vi. Somewhere between the years 740 and 737 B.C. the aged sheik Azariah, or Uzziah, lay dying. He had ruled long and successfully, but now all was passing. A terrible earthquake shook the land; a thunder-storm rolled and flashed across the sky. Yahweh seemed to toll the great bells of heaven over this man's death. As the storm raged, a youth was sitting in the sanctuary hall built on one of the city's hills. Amid the roar of the storm and the shaking of the house, he was conscious of a vision. A lordly, exalted, kingly One was before him, circled round by emblems of divine high state. The seer-youth saw attendant beings, veiled, almost invisible amid the clouds of altar smoke and the darkness of the storm. These were uttering to the young man's inner ear a solemn declaration of the character which every true Hebrew believed to belong to Yahweh. They said:

> "Yahweh is altogether devoted
> To his folk, of whom he is one;
> To his land, which is his place of power;
> To his sanctuary, where he feasts.
> And all the earth knows his importance."

The young Isaiah was overpowered. As he recovered, the deep sense of the goodness of Yahweh was what impressed him; and this wrought in him the sense that he himself was not good. He longed to preach; but how could he, so poor in soul, so unclean of lip! He gazed, and thought of the love of Yahweh. He felt that this love came to him, entered by the very lips that he counted so unfit, until they burned with eagerness to speak.

What then, was he to preach among the people? What but the fact of their deep unworthiness, as he had felt his own. In his vision his own impurity was purged by fire; so at first he preached the burning and the cutting off, just as Amos had done. Doubtless he knew Amos's work; probably his desire to preach had been kindled largely through it.

His field of work was in Judah; but it was largely like the field Amos had had in Israel. The people of Judah were living amid comfort, through Uzziah's wisdom. In 735 to 732 B.C. the young king Ahaz succeeded his grandfather, Uzziah, who had been aided in his later years by Jotham, the father of Ahaz. At once the vicious attack previously described was made by the allied Israel and Syria: these threatened to overthrow Ahaz and his state. Immediately Isaiah leapt to the defence and his preaching became more like that of Hosea in its eagerness to help and to save his king and people. The hour of darkness drew out his wonderful oracle (chap. viii.):

> "I will wait for Yahweh,
> Who is hiding his face.
> I will look for him,—

Lo!—I see his signs—
I and the children he hath given me
Are signs he gives that he loves.
He loves Israel,
And he is the lord of all hosts
Who dwells in our sanctuary in Zion."

He preached that Assyrian supremacy was Yahweh's way of solving the difficulties of strife between the smaller states. Assyria would silence Samaria and Damascus, Israel and Syria, and Judah should be safe. And so it proved. Tiglath-pileser III. broke up the alliance and set Hosea, a ruler of his own choosing, upon the throne of Israel in 734. In 732 he reduced Damascus. There was quiet until, in 727, Tiglath-pileser died and was succeeded by Shalmaneser IV. This emperor was not a strong ruler. Isaiah seems to have overestimated his ability. For when Phœnicia rebelled against Assyrian overlordship, and its city Tyre was besieged, Isaiah predicted Tyre's speedy fall, but that prediction was not fulfilled.

In 725 Samaria also began a resistance to the emperor that outlasted his life. But Isaiah concluded that the end was only delayed. When in 722 Shalmaneser IV. died and was succeeded by Sargon, Samaria was soon taken. This was the end of the real Israel. The name has been appropriated by the little kingdom of Judah, and historians have obscured the real progress of affairs by assuming Judah to be heir of Israel, and that Hebraism went on quite steadily in the south when the great northern kingdom fell. That is to act as if Judah were really equivalent to a country which was at least five times its own size,

which was far more fertile, which produced many more great men—including Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, —and which was very much opposed to the ways of Judah. Turning to a survey of affairs in Judah in Isaiah's later days, we note first that the Emperor Sargon had no easy task, although he overthrew Israel. There was a revolt nearer home in the province of Babylonia. This country was the delta-region of the Euphrates and Tigris. It had been the mother of Assyria in early ages; but now it had long been a subject province of the empire. While Sargon was busy in Palestine, there arose in Babylonia a patriot and soldier and statesman, the indefatigable Merodach-baladan. He defeated Sargon's home troops in 720; then he was able to hold independent sway in the delta for ten years, and to make repeated insurrections. Sargon left him undisturbed until he had faced the more serious task of conquering Egypt. So, or Sewe, of Muçri[1] of whom we heard in Hosea's story, was busy gathering an anti-Assyrian federation in all the southern lands, including Philistia on the coast-road, even some of the remnant people of Samaria, and any Syrians that were at all free. Sargon marched against these and defeated them utterly at Raphia, a coast town below Gaza. Isaiah was watching events. His prince, Ahaz, was true to the Assyrian overlord; so Judah was comparatively safe. The prophet was filled with hope for a time of perfect happiness, an expression of which is found in part of chapter xi.

In 715 B.C. the king Ahaz died. Probably it was

[1] Vide note, p. 15.

now that Philistia exulted, as is indicated in Isa. ch. xiv., over the fall of a prince who had been in a sense the representative of Assyria in Palestine for some twenty years. He had ruled fairly well, in spite of Isaiah's unfavourable attitude toward him in his earlier days. Isaiah at first doubted the Assyrian overlordship and Ahaz's dependence upon it; but he had much regard for Ahaz in that king's later days, and hurled at exulting Philistia an indignant reproof and warning, declaring at the same time—and for the first time—a strong faith in Zion as Yahweh's chosen place of safety for his people. The prophet had previously looked to Israel as the great centre of Hebrew life; when Israel fell and Ahaz made Zion safe by his wise policy, then Isaiah quickly saw the hand of Yahweh defending Zion and "founding there the refuge," *i.e.*, a military stronghold, for his people.

Hezekiah succeeded his father Ahaz in 715. If we have just been deviating from the traditional view of Ahaz, we shall have to oppose more decidedly the traditional view of Hezekiah. It has been supposed that he was a staunch follower of Isaiah, that he worked a reformation like that of his great-grandson Josiah a century later, and did so at Isaiah's wish. But the story of that reformation comes from a secondary writer who willingly and often reads back into early days stories and customs which are of late origin. Isaiah was not the man to plan much external formality in religion or to desire it. It is probable that the Deuteronomic document was written during his time and there were plenty of tendencies in such

direction existing all around him, yet he never once betrays the slightest leaning toward them; it rather appears by all his allusions to ceremonies and forms that he disliked and scorned them.

Singularly enough, he never once mentions Hezekiah by name, although he does mention Ahaz more than once. He condemns certain political follies in which Hezekiah was a leader, namely, rebellion against Assyria by connivance with the Egyptian government in effort to destroy the Assyrian overlordship. The chief evil that Isaiah fights in these his later years, is that friendship with Egypt which Hezekiah's court is practising. The dangers that the prophet fears to be coming from Assyria, were probably all caused by this pro-Egyptian policy of Hezekiah. It must be added that there is nowhere any hint that Isaiah's anger was directed against the court as distinguished from the king. He says Jerusalem is coquetting with Egypt and the court is doing this: now Hezekiah was leader of Jerusalem and chief of the court, therefore Hezekiah is Isaiah's opponent.

Open rebellion against Assyria became active in 712 B.C.; its centre was the Philistine city or state of Ashdod. Isaiah is said to have gone barefoot—that is, probably un-gowned, with bared legs, as slave-labourers would go—"for three years," if the time is correctly understood, to show the danger of following Ashdod's lead. Perhaps he began to do this as early as 715, at Hezekiah's accession. Sargon concentrated his force upon the centre of mischief; he destroyed Ashdod in 711. Now he turned homeward,

to check Merodach-baladan. That Babylonian was sending agents to Palestine to foment the conspiracy. We know he sent an embassy to Hezekiah, ostensibly to congratulate him on recovery from an illness; the embassy had a good look at Hezekiah's stores of war material, not only in the capital, but all over the kingdom.[1] The illness had evidently passed away very fully. Probably the commissioners from Babylon arrived before the fall of Ashdod. So the illness of Hezekiah would occur before that date in 712 B.C. Sargon's measures against Merodach were thorough; he attacked in full strength and drove the Babylonian into exile in 710. He remained a fugitive until 703, when Sargon died and there arose a fresh hope for Babylonian independence through the change of the emperor.

The new emperor, Sennacherib, was likewise a powerful prince and soldier. And yet Babylon made the dash for freedom by a new conspiracy under Egyptian leadership. The Egyptian throne was then held by Tirhaka or Taharqu, of an Ethiopian dynasty. All the Palestinian states seem to have joined in the alliance, excepting one, the Philistine city Ekron. The alliance dethroned Padi the prince of Ekron and appointed Hezekiah as jailer to keep him in prison in Jerusalem,[2] the fastness among the mountains. This suggests the natural safety of Jerusalem and the rational ground for Isaiah's faith that Yahweh had chosen it as his own refuge for his people; and it is

[1] Isa. xxxix. 2.

[2] Vide Sennacherib, *Prism Inscription*, Col. ii., ll. 69 ff.—[Craig.]

important for the correct estimation of Hebrew theology. Isaiah's sublime faiths were founded on the oracles given in a man's reasoning, and, as we say, in common sense.

Sennacherib was delayed in the East until 702 B.C., but by that year he had reduced Babylonia again. Now he marched into Palestine and down the coast, reducing city after city as he went. He overthrew a combined body of the allies at Eltekeh, somewhere near Ekron: then he pressed straight toward Jerusalem, taking the route now followed by the railroad from the coast. He was a wise strategist. He climbed to the city perched aloft and shut in "like a bird in a cage" Hezekiah, who speedily yielded. The Ekronite prince, Padi, was set free and an immense indemnity was paid. Hezekiah had to deliver up not alone gold and silver and all precious things, a great treasure, but also "his own daughters, the women of his palace, male and female musicians." Here we have a picture suggestive of the little country away up in the rugged, but naturally secure fastnesses of the mountains, out of the way of travellers or of armies marching between Asia and Africa, hard to reach save by the roundabout valley from the west, unfruitful too and not worth having. For all these reasons it was safe, and the virgin Judah, daughter of Yahweh, might have laughed at Assyria had she been under a wise king. But Hezekiah's over-confidence in his Egypto-Syrian allies, and his disregard of Isaiah, brought the fall of his city and land in 701 B.C.

Sennacherib seems to have turned homeward immediately after taking Jerusalem. The reasons for

this were partly that his work in Palestine was done for the time being, partly that the home lands and especially Babylon needed much care. The Ethiopian prince Taharqu, though still resisting him, did not compel his withdrawal; for the Assyrian armies soon returned to the subjugation of Edom and Arabia.

Here we reach the sudden close of Isaiah's story. He disappears strangely, just after uttering some of his noblest oracles. Did he lose his life at the hands of angry fellow-countrymen, who saw how his warnings had proved right? He had counselled them to submit to Assyria; and they had to do so in the end, after losing what Isaiah wished to help them to save.

The Substance of His Sermons.

To learn what was Isaiah's faith and what were his theology and his morals, we must form a clear conception both of what he preached and of the advancing movement of his mind from point to point of his counsels, opinions, and ideas. But it is necessary here that we take for granted some arrangement of the discourses.[1]

Dating from about 740–737 B.C. we have chapter ii., or most of it, which reveals the luxury and pride of the times. Fragrant cedar wood from Lebanon,

[1] The following works will be found helpful: *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, etc., by T. K. Cheyne; A. & C. Black, 1895. *Das Buch Jesaia übersetzt u. erklärt*, by Bernhard Duhm; Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1892. *The Prophecies of Isaiah.* An Outline Study, by M. A. Kellner, Cambridge, Mass., 1895, and the same author's *Assyrian Monuments Illustrating the Sermons of Isaiah;* Damrell & Upham, Boston, 1900.

and strong polished oak from Bashan are plenty in the wealthy homes. On the walls are rich works of art, paintings, needle-work, carvings, symbols of pleasure or of deities. On the highways are carriages and horses; while down on the western sea is the fleet which Judah has built. Every accessible foreign contribution to comfort and to pleasure and to high style is imported and used. Isaiah strikes straight at all this in the passage before us, like Amos who condemned luxurious life. But he has better judgment in the matter than Amos had. Hosea who lived in Samaria, could be pleased with luxury and knew its use. Isaiah sees that such show is foreign to Judah. Vv. 6–10 and 18–21 must be taken together, and then with a little necessary emendation we have two regular stanzas, each ending in the same refrain. The first stanza describes the wealth and condemns it as foreign to Judah. The men of wealth are bowing to the power of selfishness. They shall not have forgiveness from the source of life. And now breaks out the refrain in which Isaiah plays skilfully, as he often does upon the sounds of words.

"Away into the rocks with thee and hide thee in their dust!
From the Yahweh-terror! From his majestic light!
When he lifts him up to lash the land."

In the second stanza, vv. 18–21, there is a startling picture of terrors to come. It ends in the same refrain. A new stanza in vv. 11–17 both opens and closes with the refrain:

"The haughty eyes of humanity shall be brought low,
And the loftiness of men abased:
Yahweh alone shall be exalted in that day."

The theology in this is characteristic of the man and of the whole position of these moral prophets. The stanza is an affirmation of faith in that "Day of Yahweh" that Amos had preached. The doctrine was perhaps much older than these prophets, but they used it earnestly; and it became very important a century later in the hands of Zephaniah.

We reach now the discourses preached at the beginning of Ahaz's reign, about 735 B.C. Isaiah distrusted the boy-king and denounced him and his court and its harem-rule. Here is a glimpse into the morals of the time on the one hand, and a picture of the preacher on the other. In iii. 1–15 we read of childish wilfulness, tyranny, irreverence, and confusion. But the height of the charge and of the wrong is that they whom Yahweh intrusted with the care of the nation are grinding the face of the afflicted. The rulers are devouring the vineyard of god; for the comfort of the poor is identified with the interests of deity. This is the beginning of a long and large theological development that grew rich in later days.

We may pass the oracle against the proud ladies of Jerusalem, iii. 16–iv. 1, with its satire and scorn for their haughtiness, vanity, immodesty, and its cry that shame shall come.

The Song of the Vineyard gathers up the strength of the songs we have seen, and chants it all in three stanzas. The first and second end with the refrain:

> "He looked for good grapes:
> But it bore vile grapes!"

The third has a refrain that interprets its predecessors, but does so with a perfect Hebrew wizardry of diction:

"He looked for justice; but, behold, bloodshed!
He looked for righteousness; but, behold, outcry!"[1]

The first stanza with its alluring song of a friend's vineyard pictures a man's devotion and then his disappointment. The second stanza appeals to the revengeful spirit of the audience and pictures the disappointed vinedresser angry and destroying. The third stanza chants how the people are the vineyard, untrue to the owner Yahweh. The deity is full of fury, and will have no mercy. He demands a public justice above suspicion, but justice there is none. The cry of his suffering poor rends the heart of the listening god.

The next oracle is chapter v. 8–24, the sixfold, or should it be sevenfold, cry of scorn and woe, where each stanza begins with the simple but fierce "Ha!" The wrong-doers are the land monopolists, greedy feasters, mockers of religion, false, conceited, lovers of strong drink. The gluttony was probably that of greedy men and women at religious meals. The attitude of Yahweh toward these is altogether revengeful. He has no grace. The prophet thinks of Sheol, the awful abode of the dead, as a ready instrument for the avenging Yahweh to use. The conception of Sheol is thus quite well known. But

[1] Note the effective play on the Hebrew sounds:

"He looked for *Mishpat;* but, behold, *Mispach!*
He looked for *Çedhaqah;* but, behold, Çeaqah!"

Isaiah knows other possibilities of nemesis. Land monopoly he sees must bring death to all and at last to the monopoliser himself. His most striking denunciation is that against cool mockery of the love and patience of Yahweh. Isaiah knows the love and devotion in Yahweh's character, although he does not regard this as redemptive love. That is yet to come. The last of this series of oracles begins with chapter v. 25, which is then followed by ix. 7–x. 4; and v. 26–30. This is the "Chant of the Outstretched Arm." It is like an awful funeral dirge, across which strikes ever and anon the refrain:

> "For all this his anger is not turned away;
> And his arm is stretched out still!"

The first stanza chants the pain-fraught pride of Israel. The second laments the chastisement that did not chasten. Those who should lead mislead, and are worst of all. The third cries that all the scourge of cruel strife has not yet worked repentance. Therefore, more evil shall come. The fourth points out that amid all the distress judges play the fool and the literary men publish madness: the nemesis shall be fearful. There is a low roar along the far horizon; Assyria's army is marching on to overwhelm Israel. The last stanza changes in tone. The style is as wonderful and lofty as ever; but Isaiah seems to be feeling that nemesis will not convert men. He sounds no knell; he chants no refrain. The closing cry is like a low moan of sadness.

A new spirit breathes through all the oracles that follow. We saw above how the alliance between

Syria and Israel, to resist the advance of Assyria, exposed Ahaz to the loss of his chieftainship because he declined to join the alliance and preferred to favour Assyria. Jerusalem and its king were in danger. What now of Isaiah? He brings cheerfulness by his faith and courage, and strength by his wise counsel. We turn to the oracles of 734 B.C.

Chapter vi., telling the story of the prophet's original call, has been prefixed to these oracles, either by the prophet himself or by his editor. We have seen the substance of the chapter already.

In ch. vii. 1–16 we see Isaiah going to Ahaz, taking with him his boy named "*Shear-Jashubh*," *i.e.*, "There is a remnant that is to return." This oracular name was to be to Ahaz just what Isaiah had received in the day of his call. The prophet says, a little later on, that he himself and the children Yahweh gave him were for signs and wonders, even when the deity was hiding his face. So now, even if Ahaz will not hear his words, and although many cannot hear, yet Isaiah believes that lives seen are oracles received. On that day all would know that Isaiah had gone to Ahaz; that Isaiah lived and believed in Yahweh's goodness and help; and that Isaiah, whose name meant "Yahweh saves," was a fact as much as the facts of trouble or of sin. This is no little matter, but a high level of attainment in the history of the religion of those people.

Ahaz is inspecting his water-supplies in view of a siege. Isaiah approaches and says:

> "Take care to keep calm;
> Fear not, nor be faint-hearted.

Thus hath lordly Yahweh said ;
The league shall not stand
These leaguers are !—who are they ?"

But here a few words seem to have dropped—or was the ellipsis purposed ? Isaiah meant "Their head is such ; but our Head is Yahweh." Now he continues :

"If ye hold not fast, verily ye shall not stand fast."

This particular oracular idea was a favourite with Isaiah. Now he wished to strengthen the prince, or perhaps, only to test him, and discover whether he would "keep calm." In Yahweh's name he bids Ahaz ask for himself any sign he chooses. He means, of course, a sign of the wisdom of standing still. Now follow a few things which have been singularly used and even misused. First comes the prince's wise answer :

" I am not going to ask ;
And I am not going to keep testing Yahweh."

These last two words seem like an echo of words in the Yahwistic narrative. Ahaz feels he ought not to do as the faithless nomads did.[1] Isaiah answers :

" Hear *ye*,[2] O house of David.
Is it too little for *you* to make a few men weary :
But *ye* are also going to make my God weary ?
Therefore my lordly One is going to give a sign to you."

[1] See § 49 in the Yahwistic story, or Exodus xvii. 2 f.

[2] The word is plural and so it is not necessarily meant for Ahaz, who is previously addressed always in the singular. Isaiah probably turns to address the court, the others about the king who might not be so sensible as Ahaz and would like " a sign."

Surely we must cease to find fault with Ahaz on account of his unwillingness "to keep testing Yahweh": for, in the first place, he does what is right; and, in the second place, Isaiah's next words are not certainly addressed to him; and thirdly, if Isaiah's words imply some displeasure, the cause of this is not necessarily the words uttered by Ahaz, but perhaps some weakness that Isaiah expects in days to come; and, finally, even if Isaiah be vexed with Ahaz's words, Isaiah could make mistakes and should rather congratulate himself that Ahaz does not put to the test his challenge to furnish any sign he might ask.

But now comes the special oracle which has been strangely used. Isaiah proceeds to give the sign he has promised, thus:

"See the veiled woman who has conceived and is bearing!
Then { she shall, *or* / thou shalt, *or* / I shall } cry his name Immanu-El (A deity is with us).
Curd and grape juice he shall eat.
(For his knowing to refuse what is bad
And to choose what is pleasing),[1]
For in the time ere yet the youth is to know refusal of what is bad,
And choice of what is good,
The soil is going to be forsaken,
Before whose two kings *thou* art disgusted."

Very evidently the child meant by Isaiah is within, at most, a few weeks of birth. The reader can reflect for himself on the ancient and modern misuse of the promise. To Ahaz the oracle meant that

[1] The passage in parenthesis is probably a gloss.

there was, or was to come within a few weeks, a widespread confidence throughout all the homes of Judah in the presence around them of a great helping deity; and the token of this would be seen in a simple mother's choice, or the king's, or the prophet's choice of a name for the babe now nearing birth. With glad restfulness they would call the babe by a name that meant "We know that there is a deity beside us, shielding us." The religion of the prophet and people is manifest.

Chapters viii. 1–ix. 6 may be divided into the following five oracles: viii. 1–4, 5–10, 11–18, 19–22, ix. 1–6. These probably differ in date and occasion and possibly even in authorship. However, we may set down easily the Isaian religious ideas expressed in them. First, an oracle is again attached to the life of a child, for Isaiah names his new infant *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, "Speed-spoiling-haste-harrying." Such trouble will Yahweh cause to Judah's enemies. This is virtually the same oracle that was whispered by the young mother's lips as she named her child Immanuel, and it expressed the same faith in a coming deliverance. Even the invisibility of the helper shall be no bar to cheer, for sense perceives at times his nearness. Therefore, cries Isaiah, let us grasp his hand; leagued with him we need fear no foe. But even more comfort is given. Let doubt of his hand be dispelled! In the lone hour of darkness, wailing itself is strength; and we have really visible signs from God. Our own life and our children are his gifts and prove his love and our safety. Other gods and ghostly revelations will produce only cursing.

Now, in the next section, light where darkness was has shone in; a young prince has been born. Yahweh has verily fulfilled the expectations; and Isaiah trusts that this babe shall bear the character for wisdom, bravery, calm control that the nation needs and that Yahweh can give. This is certainly political, but it is also an outpouring of the prophet's deep religious nature and it illustrates the theology of the Hebrews at one of their highest points.

This series of utterances preached amid the war of 734 is closed by two found in xvii. 1–6 and 9–11. They predict first the entire destruction of Syria, and then the destruction of Israel. The latter passage is very interesting for our purpose, because Isaiah plainly speaks of other deities besides Yahweh as realities to him, although he naturally despises them. He says:

> "For thou hast forgotten thy God of help;
> Thou art going to plant *Naaman* plants.[1]
> 'Tis a stranger's slips thou art going to plant.
> But—they'll fail."

This expectation of ruin for Damascus and Samaria was well-grounded. But Isaiah was not always correct in his forecasts. In 725 B.C. he chanted a finely stanzaic dirge for Tyre, as if Shalmaneser IV. were sure to destroy that city of vikings.

> "Yahweh, lord over all hosts, hath devised it,
> Yahweh hath given charge concerning Canaan."

[1] Literally "anemones," the red flowers sacred to Adonis and symbolising the drops of his blood.

But this reading of the future was mistaken. And this is an important element in his theology. The strength of his confidence in Yahweh led him at times to pass out from the legitimate domain of knowledge concerning Yahweh's moral character, his truth, purity, and grace, into another domain, that of knowledge of God's providential action. But here his claim was illegitimate, for a human mind does not possess all the data of providential procedure; whereas in the other domain he may know the whole of the data, namely, the love of God.

From 723 B.C., and thereabouts, we have several great discourses circling about the doom of the northern people. Sargon destroyed that people when he came to the throne and supreme command. So xvii. 12–14 is a vision of the terrible onrushing of the Assyrian hosts. Isaiah declares in faith, that Yahweh controls this.

In xxviii. 1–6 the exquisitely eloquent wail for Samaria is of moment for us; partly, indeed, for its fine moral scorn for the silly debasements of intoxication, but chiefly for its claim that the Assyrian overwhelming host is but one of the sky-darkening storms that Yahweh brings and rules. Now we read the vivid magnificent picture of x. 24–34, where Isaiah looks out from the northern gate of Jerusalem over the mountain-tops and sees what he thinks will be the line of march of the Assyrian army, fresh from the destruction of Samaria and eager for more booty, meaning to pick up Zion as one picks fruit to eat. The picture is prefaced with a calm utterance of faith that "all will be well." Then all the more splendid are the strokes

that sketch the lightning march through well-known gorge and pass and village, ever nearer to the beloved Zion; till just before the gates all ceases. The army with its lances is like a forest, but Yahweh is the great forester.

"See the lordly One, Yahweh, ruler of all hosts,"

will surely hew them all down. But Assyria did not make this march. The eloquent expectation is one more quite unfulfilled prophecy.

There is much uncertainty of date for ch. xi. 1–9, the lofty conception of the rule of an ideal king over the saved land. It is Isaiah's second picture of such a prince. It seems fit to belong to this date. There are expressed in it several features of Isaiah's faith important in order to understand his theology. Foremost is his view that a man's power over men lies in the godlikeness of his spirit. To the prophet, the spirit that moved a man was not something altogether within him, but rather enfolding him, and thus working wisdom and reverence, fairness and faithfulness, and giving him success in safe and happy government. The spirit causes *knowing;* and almost on Hosea's old theory, it is this knowledge that causes goodness. But the happy life under a king of such spirit consists very largely of material blessings; and more, these material blessings are to be accomplished by the essential alteration of nature. "The lion shall eat straw like the ox," etc. The passage is poetical and may be hyperbolical, so we need scarcely trouble over the contradiction between the two features just described; and yet even the

peaceful rule and the harmless world are both, one as much as the other, unfulfilled expectations. Here again Isaiah's predictions wandered away from his legitimate domain.

In 715 B.C. the king Ahaz died; and, as we have said, the Philistine peoples were loudly exultant. Was not the pro-Assyrian gone? Isaiah, in xiv. 28–32, bids them forbear from that glee; for he warns them that the Assyrian emperor himself will come with an army that leaves never a straggler. Then shall Philistia faint. And then they may expect even Judah to be harried, too; but—here is the importance for us of this utterance—the king of Judah will be able to tell all his people that—

> "Yahweh is founding Zion!
> And in her his people's bowed ones are going to trust."

Here is Isaiah's first clear utterance of faith in the safety of Zion—as a citadel certainly and not as a sanctuary. It may be that this is the source of the later Zion doctrine. Isaiah was able to see, as anyone else could see, how inviolable Jerusalem naturally was, perched up 2,000 feet on barren mountains, far aside from the great roads, a very little place, almost a village. But the prophet points out the hand of Yahweh in this and sees in it his definite choice. Here is the essence of the character of Isaiah in a sentence. Yahweh is lord of all things, men, doings and movements.

We come now to Isaiah's discourses and theology during the reign of the king Hezekiah, 715 to 686 B.C.

We have oracles uttered in 711, 704, 703, 702, 701, B.C., but none later. It is a traditional supposition that the prophet's policy controlled Hezekiah; but it is remarkable that in the middle of the reign Isaiah's voice suddenly ceases altogether. We should have expected to hear more of him if he were in the ascendant and giving himself to royally favoured ceremonial reforms. Even if he died amid national confidence and honour in 700 B.C., we should surely have heard something of this. The silence is strange unless indeed he was violently silenced, and even murdered because his words were opposed to the people's ways and the king took no care for him. We shall see that the succession of utterances from 711 to 701 means steadily growing antagonism between the prophet and the court.

The first oracle from 711 is xx. 1–6. It attacks a pro-Egyptian tendency. Isaiah's religious attitude is at once notable. In the first place he uses dress as a mode of discourse and wears that of a slave. He knows the psychological value of a symbol; perhaps, too, he had to keep silence with his lips as Amos long before had advised the prudent ones to do. Then, secondly, he proclaims his opinion of the vanity of Egypt's political claims; but he attributes his opinion to Yahweh, who has conveyed it to the minds of men generally along the Philistian coast. The passage does not say that Isaiah spoke it; Yahweh spoke it, and the coast-dwellers were saying,

> "If Egypt is going to be enslaved
> How can we escape?"

The prophet's belief in the deity's management of and absorbing interest in politics, and in all other outside peoples as well as in a wise and happy course for Judah, shows us what his theology was.

Very closely linked on here by their nature are two utterances: ch. xvi. 14, a bit of resetting of an old oracle concerning Moab, warning them of danger. Here again is the interest in other peoples flowing out of Yahweh's love for all. In xxi. 16 f., Qedar too, some part of Arabia, is warned of coming failure of her skilled bowmen, because Yahweh hath spoken it. These two passages are valuable because they show the prophet's political conviction that Assyria is to rule all.

Far grander words follow in x. 5–15 and its proper sequel, xiv. 24–27. Isaiah's love for his own land is startled by a fear that Sargon may actually hurt Judah. The Assyrian emperor-general is at Ashdod, and seems to have said that Judah and her king and deity are of little consequence. The prophet's soul kindles with indignation and towers in scorn of this man, be he who he may, who is such a fool as to think to laugh at Yahweh. To Isaiah Judah's god is God of gods. Yet the indictment against the Assyrian is not altogether that he has questioned whether Yahweh is identical with God, the Overlord. He has set all his successes to the credit of no deity at all, but to that of his own hand and wisdom. There Isaiah's claim is unassailable ;[1] Sargon's, as

[1] The prophet here misrepresents or misunderstands Sargon. Sargon believed in his gods and attributed his victories and successes to them, as all other Semitic rulers did. In his Khorsabad

represented, is madness. The prophet's character is sublime in this; and so is his declaration,

> "Sworn hath Yahweh of Hosts, to wit:
> Surely it is as I, even I, have planned,
> So it shall be."

And now he catches up from words of years ago:

> "For Yahweh of Hosts hath proposed,
> And who can annul it?
> And his is the outstretched arm,
> And who can turn it back?"

There is no further oracle from this time, *circa* 711 B.C., but it was very likely at this date that the events occurred which underlie Isaiah xxxviii. f. There Isaiah is described as warning Hezekiah of the folly of alliance with the Babylonian prince, the enemy of Sargon. This Babylonian prince was overthrown in 710 B.C., as the Eponym Canon shows.

Now we reach the climax of the oracles, those uttered when Sargon died and was followed by an even sterner prince, Sennacherib, from 705 B.C., on to 701, when Isaiah suddenly disappeared. The oracles are ten in number:[1] (1.) xxii. 15–18; (2.) xxviii. 7–

inscription he writes, "Inasmuch as the great gods in their steadfast purpose chose him, and granted unto him an heroic might over all princes . . . during his reign no prince was his equal, in war and battle he knew no vanquisher." When he tells of his conquest of Cyprus he attributes his victory to the "Mighty power of the great gods who called forth his weapons." Sargon had, besides, some exalted ideas of the responsibilities his gods imposed upon him.—[Craig]

[1] Given as in Cheyne's *Polychrome Isaiah*, pp. 27 ff.

22; (3.) xxix. 1–6, 9–10, 13 f.; (4.) xxix. 15; xxx. 1–5; xxx. 6 f.; xxxi. 1–3; (5.) xxx. 8–17; (6.) xxxi. 4 f.; (7.) i. 1–26; (8.) xviii.; (9.) i. 5–26; (10.) xxii. 1–14. They are less read and less understood than those of the prophet's early life. Possibly the reason is that the traditional theory of Hezekiah's attitude makes it actually impossible to comprehend how Isaiah could say such things concerning Hezekiah's government. So the oracles are made into a riddle by this faulty tradition and they are consequently almost erased from practical use. But a study of the eloquence and wise counsel in the oracles will show how great the preacher has grown. For a grasp of Hebrew theology and ethics they are invaluable authority. Let us point out two features of their whole nature. First, they are all full of contempt for Egyptian help and for pro-Egyptian politicians in Judah. In other words Isaiah has risen to a decided faith in world empire and to a clear view concerning it. To him the unity of divine control by Yahweh is being realised through the overlordship of the Assyrian empire. Doubtless the king Ahaz, who has often been lightly esteemed, but who steadily stood as in some sense the representative of Assyria in Palestine, had helped to bring Isaiah to this view. Secondly, there stands in the front in all these oracles a growing faith in the safety of Zion, not so much as a sanctuary or a place of forgiveness, but as a fortress. He was more and more attributing its almost inaccessible position, and its undesirability as a prize for invaders, to the all-controlling guidance of Yahweh. These two points go together. If only the king and

the people will have nothing to do with the insidious, worthless Egyptian government, and will not vex and irritate Assyria, then Jerusalem shall be the safe, aye, and supreme home of Yahweh.

Of the oracles separately, a few words will show the nature and sequence.

Ch. xxii. 15–18 condemns selfishness, especially in a courtier whose great aim is to have a fine carriage and a fine tomb. Isaiah promises him travel, but on foot and to Assyria; and a grave there in soil wherein even Yahweh cannot keep him safe from the powers unseen. Isaiah's theory of the soil is not a fully logical outcome of his trust in Yahweh.

Ch. xxviii. 7–22 is the brilliant vintage discourse based on the passage, vv. 1–6, that had been preached to Samaria twenty years before. The sketch of people, drunken, and that in fellowship with drunken priests and prophets, is all most dramatic. For our purpose we note the following particulars: The condemnation of intoxications that debase the mind and religious life, and of falsehoods; the eloquent scorn of secret pro-Egyptian politics; the evident familiarity of preacher and audience with the idea of the Underworld, as a sort of person, or almost a deity, with whom and in whose secret places men can dwell consciously and even be busy; the finely repeated assertion of the natural, because divinely created, strength and safety of the fortress Zion; the essential importance of a trusting spirit in men and nation; and, finally, the unfailing certainty of all that Yahweh decrees, whether it be protection or destruction.

In ch. xxix. 1–6 a storm breaking over Jerusalem suggests to the prophet that Yahweh may, indeed, himself besiege Jerusalem and then she certainly shall be ruined. No place of military strength or of worship is too sacred for him to destroy if it be opposed to his way.

In xxix. 9 f., Isaiah boldly says the astonishment at his attitude and condemnations is feigned. Then he adds his belief that their conduct and their blindness to their danger are actually brought upon them by Yahweh as a judicial visitation. This doctrine appeared indeed much earlier, and it is not at all strange in a Semite. All the oriental peoples were so filled with a sense of the overwhelming and overruling power of their deity that they tended easily to such a doctrine.

In ch. xxix. 13 f. is another fragment that reveals much of the prophet's mind. He distinguishes between formal worship and the attachment of the heart to the deity. He points significantly to a certain unhealthy would-be wisdom, which seems to have taught even then that the deity may be appeased with forms; while worldly policy and safe policy are matters in which the Yahweh prophet had better be neglected.

Now we reach again the main point of practical attack, the pro-Egyptian policy. There are four passages which condemn this in plain words: the first, xxix. 15, declares that this would-be secret policy is well known by Yahweh; the second, xxx. 1–5, is a direct condemnation of the policy because it is bad policy entered upon without consulting Yahweh and therefore sinful.

The fourth cry against the Egyptian alliance, xxxi. 1–3 or 1–5, is almost more fully theological than any earlier passage. For it asserts that Yahweh is as much a reality as the visible horses and chariots of Egypt. Isaiah argues a good deal as Hosea had done, concerning the difference between the nature of a god and of other beings, and the consequent difference in the helpfulness of these. Yahweh the holy or devoted one of Israel is a spirit, and only a spirit can help or can destroy.

Ch. xxx. 8–17, the third of these attacks on Egypt, has several features of much importance for our purpose; *viz.*, these: the use of *written* oracle is distinctly undertaken; and the object is to give future evidence of the fact of the testimony; the prophet's spoken oracle has been prohibited by the people and doubtless by the government and prince. This prohibition is attributed to a deep cause, the deadly wilfulness of men. Isaiah's ethical reflection is probing very far. All the time the character of Yahweh has been full of eager desire to keep the people in quiet security. They have run away from love. Certainly the prophet is here showing us his idea of love as his own supreme duty and at the same time his conception of the character of the deity.

Probably i. 1–26 gives a picture of the morals of Jerusalem at this time. The people are sinful, guilt-laden, their doing evil, their sins scarlet, red as crimson. The catalogue enumerates these wrongs: forsaking Yahweh, violence, want of justice to the orphan and the widow, harlotry, lawless rulers, bribery, disregard of the needy and extortionate charges for their

defence. And yet amid all this evil, and in hope of obtaining Yahweh's help against siege and suffering, certain things are practised which in Isaiah's opinion are useless; namely, slaughter-sacrifices or feasts, burnt-offerings, temple processions, offerings of sweet-incense, observance of assemblies, new moons, and sabbaths, fasts and solemn prayers. This does not prove that Isaiah counted no prayer good; but it does prove that he did not think the prayers offered in the sacrificial system of his times a divinely ordained plan of salvation. The system was of course the national method of sacrificial feasts, and not at all identical with the Aaronitic system. Of that Isaiah seems to have no knowledge; although if he did know it, he did not exalt it to honour. His "soul hates" the sacrificial system that he knows.

To this same period belongs chap. xviii. Judah was hemmed in by angry Assyria. Jerusalem was now in danger. Now Isaiah's patriotism burns and he feels in it the divine afflatus. He runs to the rescue. Yahweh, says he, will await his own hour and then arise to lop the Assyrian's branches and throw the invaders for food, a long horrid feast, to the vultures and the wolves.

Finally, ch. xxii. 14 is a doubly sad cry; it seems to have roused the people to kill Isaiah. For some reason Sennacherib marched away leaving Jerusalem free. He had reduced it, pillaged its court, and he was done with it. The day of deliverance was turned into a day of revelry. The prophet seems to have remonstrated and called the people to solemn recog-

nition of Yahweh's hand in these events. The people replied :

"Let us eat and drink !
For to-morrow we die."

They had no glad, large trust in Yahweh ; and they were beast-like in their orgies. Isaiah's wrath burst out in fierce denunciation.

"Surely the Lord of Hosts hath revealed it in my ears ;
Surely *this* iniquity shall not be cancelled till ye die."

The oracles cease thus darkly and suddenly. We have no further record of the prophet. The explanation seems most likely to be that Isaiah died by the hand of the angry people.

Outline of Micah's Preaching.

We may add here a brief outline of Micah's preaching. Micah is rather a man of the ordinary people in whom we may see the impression the other preachers produced. He discourses :

Of Samaria.....	i.	1–7	A picture of her ruin.
		8–16.	Micah's wail for her.
Of Judah.....	ii.	1–4.	Woe to Judah also.
		5–7.	Judah's retort.[1]
		8–11.	Micah's stern reply.
After Samaria's fall. 722 B.C ...	iii.	1–4.	Judah's bad government.[2]
		5–8.	Judah's bad prophets.
		9–12.	All these are ruining Zion.

[1] The word קהל here translated *congregation*, sounds as late at least, as the Deuteronomists. This might be certainly 720 B.C.

[2] Judah seems now to have appropriated the title "house of Israel."

Less certainly from the same Micah..	v. 9–14.	Perhaps under Manasseh, 686–641.
Long after Samaria's fall.....	vi. 1–8.	On past story.
	9–16.	On dishonesty.
	vii. 1–6.	On the lack of good men.

CHAPTER IV

ETHICS AND THEOLOGY OF THE GREAT MORAL PROPHETS

1. The Primary Fact and Feature in these Moral Preachers.

THEY were primarily preachers of righteousness, and of righteousness as the character and the purpose of Yahweh, the god of Israel.

They do not follow at all the same course as the Yahwists. They have indeed two things in common with that school of narrators. They know a good deal of the story which the Yahwists tell. Amos mentions as illustrations a few items in it. Hosea brings frequent illustrations from it; or, not really from the Yahwist's tale, for at times he follows the Elohistic view of things; but he brings his occasional pictures out of the store of tradition which he uses in common with the Yahwists. He is not bound to any form of it that we know. There was no authorised or authoritative "Torah" or "Teaching" concerning the past which he could use as something that the people would at once acknowledge as divinely given. The past was given of Yahweh: that was all and that was enough.

But the Yahwists had written in a tone singularly touched with the sense that "as a people, as men, we are not good enough." That sense is now the whole

soul of these four prophets. They belong to a people whose song-writers and narrators were speaking out a strange, awakened consciousness of moral need. Then from among this people there spring to the front a band who preach "Goodness." "Be ye good. God, our god, is good." But they were not at all narrators, as the Yahwists had been.

Again, they were not legislators nor teachers of ceremonial duty. Indeed, they rarely mention legislation. The deliverer of the people from Egypt is commonly known in the present day as "Moses the Lawgiver." Hosea calls him a prophet, and he was one of those two men of the preachers who would have been likely to refer to systems of law, for he was a man of the court. The other man of the court was Isaiah, and he utters never a syllable of Moses, although he has much to say of Egypt, which one might think could have found points of support in quotation of the deeds of Egypt in Moses's days. All of the four speak of teachers or allude to them, and both Hosea and Isaiah say that the function of priests was to teach. But now, knowing that, we may be surprised to find that neither of these nor any of the four has any respect for priests. There was no honoured Levitical system in operation here. Nay more, all four men seem bent on condemning all of the ceremonies and sacrifices which they know, save in the one case where Amos regards Nazarites or Vow-pledged men as in some way emblems of Yahweh's will. Amos is bitter, Hosea is unsparing, Isaiah is scathing, and Micah follows faithfully in denunciation of priests and of all sorts of ceremonies

and even prayers. Indeed whatever systems did exist are unanimously treated as the same as sin. They are all heartless and a disgust to Yahweh; they are largely selfish feasts where men get possessions, and where they superstitiously hope to curry favour with a heaven that is as bad as themselves. Certainly then there was a ceremonial system existing, but it was all bad; and these preachers of goodness and of God never dream of calling the ceremonial system *a divine institution* or of appealing to it as originally *a dispensation of God*, or a way of pleasing God and attaining pardon for sin and the bliss of life.

In their preaching they point to sins many and great, and they condemn them utterly. They declare that Yahweh is altogether alienated from these things and from the people because of them. They announce the coming of fearful penalties from his hand. But they plainly condemn evil not because of these penalties, but because it is hateful to the mind of their deity. So, too, they urge men to seek goodness because it is what Yahweh delights in.

Here is, therefore, a decided movement forward. The people were already pervaded with the moral sense and anxiety; they had been willing to listen to a story related with such a tone. But now something new occurs. There is a deeper, mightier movement: a great offspring is brought to birth. Four men arise who do more than feel, and more than describe the past. The Yahwists were, as it were, the awaked *conscience*.[1] These four prophets are the awakened *will*.

[1] It may be noted here that there is no special word in Hebrew for *conscience*, nor is there in any ancient literature until the time of

The better national mind conceives now a deliberate purpose and cries: "We must be good. Supreme, inevitable demand is on us and in our souls. We will be good. And all the nation must." This is, one might say, a passing forward from the sense of goodness, the moral sense, to the religious sense, the sense of an awful control, the disclosure of God.

But now this is not a uniform thing, a grasp by everyone of the necessity of regeneration, and this in one prescribed way. On the contrary, it is a rise to great mental activity, and each prophet thinks independently and continuously. No two of them agree absolutely. The one moves forward from the views of the other. More, each one moves steadily, strikingly, from view to view; and at the end of Isaiah's life he is seen to hold very different views from those of his youth. The divine truth abides, and the sense that goodness must be. But as to what that goodness really is, each is continually questioning and learning. Thus the result of the deep moral awakening was a sense of the presence of God overwhelming them, and producing—never numbness—but the most active, intellectual, reasoning condition.

As preachers they exhibit this mental activity naturally in great effort after true persuasiveness, which is true eloquence. They use every method possible, that of the oracle, or brief, pungent popular saying, a watchword or battle-cry. They use the balanced rhythm and swing of verse, shorter and keener, or

Zeno, *circa* 320 B.C., when we first meet with the Greek *συνειδήσις*. To the Hebrews the compulsions of conscience were the commands of Yahweh.—[Craig.]

longer and more wooing, or one more awful. Often the Hebrew alliteration is used to make a plea or a charge strike home. Picture, illustration, imagination, all the armoury of the pleader is constantly under command. There is no doubt about their intense purpose to do their pleading work, and to use every possible means to that end. This outburst of strong souls and eloquent speech was an epoch in Hebrew history.

2. The Ethics of these Prophets.

Let us set systematically before us, in brief, the moral position and demand of these preachers; and first, let us classify the sins they condemned.

Amos condemns certain evils that he sees in fearful abundance about him in Samaria: reckless hurt to bodily life; selfish hurt to womanhood, motherhood, girlhood; indignity to the sinner's own character by gluttony and by great luxury; dishonesty and commercial fraud; heedless hurt to the poor who are Yahweh's special clients; irreverence toward humanly sacred things and tasks; infidel thoughtlessness concerning deity; destruction of efforts after ideals; injustice in court. All these things are unrighteousness.

Hosea sees and condemns all these: but his attention is held chiefly by the particular evils following, *viz.*: sexual unfaithfulness; civil quarrelling, and irreverence toward governmental order and favour at home and abroad; baseness of priests or religious officers, with multiplication of religious regulations, altars and the like for the sake of increased fees, gain, power;

dishonour of even the hoariest shrines among which Shechem and Bethel seem emphasised in Hos. vi. 9 f.[1] But the great root of all sin is ignorance: and men are ignorant especially of Yahweh's love and tenderness. So he proceeds to discuss and condemn what we may call a more theological sin, namely, a misreading of the nature of a true deity by exalting to divine value things that men have made. Hosea's condemnation is more concentrated. And it is spoken, doubtless, from a closer personal interest in the northern kingdom, and also with deep personal care for the politics of the nation.

In Isaiah we find a wide range of condemnation, and a deep probing into the nature of evil. This probing is deeper as years go on: the range of condemnation changes and progresses in extent and in correctness. In his early days of preaching his conscience is roused chiefly against luxury. His people, he thinks, ought to be austere; should have little or nothing to do with the comfortable ways of foreigners. This is, of course, an imperfect view of life and goodness; it springs from insular vision. But he condemns also haughtiness, and the excesses of drunkenness and gluttony at sacrificial feasts. Sins these are certainly, but they are fruits rather than roots of sinfulness. He condemns the injury done to poor persons, as done to those in whom Yahweh has special interest. This had been the teaching of Amos; but noble as it is, it is not the ultimate position of ethics. But Isaiah shows even in these early days a nature that means to probe deep, when he strikes at the evil of

[1] Cf. Wellhausen, *kl. Proph.*, pp. 16 and 114.

land monopoly and lays bare its essential deadliness. He reaches a profound depth also, when he condemns all unreasonableness, all conceit that says "I will do as I like," even if it be to say bitter is sweet, and light is darkness.

There is a deeper insight in chapter vi., which is the story of the early call, but is prefixed to the discourses of the second period. What troubles Isaiah's conscience here is his own uncleanness, and not the doings of the people about him. He is turning to a truer criterion of sin, the sense of it in himself awakened by a vision of God. He feels uncleanness in the very organs and centre of his life; and then he begins to reflect upon the perversity of inner nature that is heavy and dull and hard to arouse to sight of good and duty. So in this period, he turns to test and to indict the actual courses of conduct taken by leaders who ought to know, rather than by the duller common people. He goes straight to the king and warns *him* of the danger of the sin of distrusting his god. He condemns in fiercest words the civil strifes of Hebrew people against Hebrew people, and the conspiracies laid by leaders. Evidently he has moved to a more real area. The sins he condemned before were bad enough, and indeed he still condemns them, and does so to the end; but he is going far straighter to the core of evil now. He accuses leaders of setting little value on deity, and therefore turning now to one and now to another. They act on mistrust; they are in fretful haste; they have in mind absolutely no real support to fall back upon. So, very easily, a vintage season and its excitements lead them

to try the drowning of fears in cups and excess, or to try the cool shade of some religious trees and forget real evils amid the momentary comforts.

Then he reaches the great political task of his life, and tests the government's policy of alliance with Egypt. He exposes its uselessness, and calls trust in useless things a sin. He tells the government and people that man is not a fit match for God in laying plans, secret or open, and in accomplishing these. Yahweh, that is God, is sure, wise, and able, although he is unseen; and, moreover, he is full of love for Judah. The great sin of the people is their reckless disregard of all this. There are some who go further still and try to practise astuteness as over against the prophet and his god; such astute plans to manage God are sin. Even Assyria, with all its power, is mad when it opposes Yahweh.

At last, there is a great sin, "the inexpiable sin," as Professor Cheyne names it, to wit, failure to be serious, solemn; failure silently and humbly to listen to God's voice in the days of deliverance and joy. The greatest sin, the last that Isaiah condemned, was want of godly thoughtfulness amid material pleasures.

Such, then, are the evils that these prophets condemned.

3. The Ideals of these Prophets.

Let us set over against this the ideals which they held up.

Amos demands *Goodness*, and that is no mere fancy choice made at random, it is what Yahweh chooses and loves. In order to attain to its univer-

sal reign, the prophet simply bids men come and seek it for themselves. He does not directly suggest the need of help to do so. And yet he does imply help, for he speaks of forgiveness to the people, as a people, because they are little; and he teaches emphatically that Yahweh reveals his secret mind to his servants, the prophets. He goes even further, for he tells Amaziah that Yahweh has spoken to him, Amos; God himself has directed him to preach, although he was no prophet. On the other hand, if men will not seek good they shall die; Yahweh is determined to have goodness in the earth; and all the sinners of his people are to die. This death is a certain unhappy descent into Sheol, which we know from other sources to have been conceived as a dim underworld where the departed lay, conscious but helpless. Amos does not describe any alternative happy condition for the good. They are just to live in Israel not cut off by the sword, *i.e.*, not cut off as warriors in their prime, but enjoying a good old age. But the prophet has no clear grasp of the value of the individual, or of any ultimate ideal that he may reach.

Hosea's ideal condition is not indeed a more honest and noble thing than that of Amos; but it is more profound. It sets out with a strain that comes from the inmost heart: he wishes his nation to be the wife of Yahweh, all love and so all faithfulness. There is here already a touch of the certain distinction he recognises as having appeared between God and man. Of old the ideal state was that Yahweh was, and each Hebrew was, alike member of the com-

mon clan or brotherhood. But now men are to receive from Yahweh a treatment far above all that they give; they are to dwell in a divine bosom of grace and forbearing, pardoning, love. And yet, again, the distinction is not fully pressed to its apparently natural consequences. For the loving kindness, "*Chesedh*," that so fills Yahweh and directs all his ways is held up as the ideal for men likewise. And all this is to be the outcome of a quality whose exaltation is specially characteristic of Hosea; it is *knowledge* that men are to have and that is to work all good results. They are to live far removed from all dissipating influences; and then with clear mind they shall know Yahweh, and in knowing him be one with him. This is the coming ideal, righteous life that Hosea exalts. Then they shall speak to Yahweh in true prayer, in humble yet trustful cry for forgiveness of past wrong-doing. Along with such worship, they will obey the true prince, be taught by true priests, use nobly the altars and pillars and even teraph-symbols of deity. They shall have a true system and noble observance of landed right for every son of Israel. They shall be pure and chaste in their social life, honest in their trading, and straightforward in all their diplomacy. That is Hosea's ideal for the people.

Isaiah is again different. His ideal is austere, as became a dweller on the mountains of Judah, with their cool, bare pasture lands and their lonely glens. So we have in all his early discourses negative direction chiefly, almost no picture of an ideal state. Yet in the Song of the Vineyard what Yahweh is said to

expect is justice or judicial order, and righteousness or firmness of character. But these are not described in any enlarged detail. At the opening of the second period this is indeed explained. There we read how his early conception of his commission was that he should be ever hewing down afresh the people's growth, ever pruning, so as to have just the bare but true stump and stock. But this vision reveals also the heart of the man, and shows us his prized ideal. It was that men should have fellowship of speech with Yahweh, the gloriously exalted god of Israel. The first moment of Isaiah's clearly conscious religious experience was a moment of experience of Yahweh causing him to know himself, as endued with the goodness of purity, and as the richly exalted speaker for Yahweh.

The prophet went out to preach fellowship with Yahweh, alliance with him, revelations from him, for king and people. The revelations and fellowship would be doubly blest, for they would, in the first place, be assuredly for all men. Then in the second place, they would come through the voices of men, even through the persons and appearances of little children, through the joys of motherhood, through the rule of princes, their worthy majesty, their righteous and lasting success. Such a condition of society is the ideal of Isaiah. But his *goodness* is different from Hosea's. Not by knowledge that a temperate man gets, as it were, for himself, but by a divine *afflatus* given to the leader of the state and so moving all the people. Still it is the divine fellowship, but it works in a way almost above understanding. Yahweh's

breath is to rest upon and about the prince, and to give him a new breath and spirit. Then the ideal man, prince, people and even ideal beasts result. The prince knows Yahweh and he fears him with reverence. The royal spirit is wise to judge in the court and to reprove. The feeble are helped, those who suffer robbery of land get justice. Godless men are caused to die. All men at home or abroad trust the prince. Ravenous beasts cease to ravin and the very soil knows Yahweh.[1] These features may, indeed, be due, in part, to hands later than Isaiah; but the root idea of an overwhelming presence inspiring men is certainly Isaian. The people in the ideal state will have no fear of war, for Yahweh is always building safeguards about them, and the humble nation will trust and be quite at rest. But formal worship will not be the necessary key to that ideal condition. Isaiah does not indeed say that all formal worship is bad; to draw such a conclusion from ch. i. 15 would be to conclude that prayer is bad, but Isaiah himself prayed. And yet he never suggests, as Hosea did, that there shall certainly be symbols and sacrifices and priests in his ideal Israel.

We may add here that the most notable feature in Micah's ideal is this same condition of inspiration by Yahweh, with all the righteous conduct which that produces.

[1] The passage xi. 9 has a very suspicious expression in the words הר קדשי. It is perhaps of later date than the exaltation of Zion by Josiah in 622 B.C.

4. The Theology Proper of these Prophets.

We are ready now to collect in order the ideas these preachers had concerning God, his nature and character.

They inherited, and still worked mentally along, the tribal theory. This has been admirably expounded by the late W. Robertson Smith. The faith is, in brief, that while every soul was impressed with the sense that there is an unseen person at work in all things, lives, and events, causing all, guiding all, whispering to many an ear; yet each tribe or large family conceived of this unseen one as a being of their own nature and belonging to their own tribe or clan. So each tribe believed that it possessed one divine member, a divine being who was peculiarly a member of that clan. Consequently, there were as many divine beings as there were clans. This might, of course, be somewhat modified; for several clans might have descended originally from the same small family, and therefore all these might have a common deity, who was the greatest member of the clan. He was its head, originator, defender, chief warrior, and rightful ruler, and was to be consulted in all important times of decision. The food that gave to all members a common strength, and mutual bond for war or any momentous act, was to be offered to this clan-deity. Such food was flesh food; even the blood was used, for the blood was the hidden secret in every living person. The deity received his share of the blood. It was poured on the soil, the sacred supporter of all life; and as it disappeared it seemed to be ac-

cepted by the deity. So some parts were burned, and he seemed to accept them as the odorous smoke ascended into the unseen. Fellowship with him must be maintained at all costs; and if any members, or the tribe wandered from him they might expect a day to come, his day, when he would have his way.

There was, besides, the underworld, whither all the dead went, and there, in dark silence, grim terrors awaited those who disagreed with the deity who controlled that place.

For all his lovers the deity would be all-helpful; they should enjoy the earth's fruits, for he created and controlled the soil and its hidden fountains, causing its springs, its marshy coldness, or its dry desert. He withheld or he gave the rain, and by it he caused the fruits of the earth, corn, wine, and oil and the life of the herd and the flock.

But this theory was breaking down before the pressure of the political and agrarian troubles, that were rising as the great rivals for world rule overran the smaller states. Amos warns Samaria that Yahweh is displeased because he finds little done among men that is after his own heart. This preacher would set up a new class who have special attractions for Yahweh, namely, the poor and the sufferers; or he speaks of a class with whom Yahweh has special relationships, namely, his slaves (servants) the inspired ones, to whom he tells his purposes.

Hosea finds that Israel has forsaken her own "ba'al," Yahweh. She has gone like a harlot to other "Ba'als," or lovers, supposing them to be surer fructifiers. Hence the people belong no longer to the same class

with Yahweh. He is god, and not man. But this furnishes him with an opportunity to form a new relationship. Freed from clan obligations he may cease to be the clan's "ba'al" or landlord; so because he has devoted love for Israel he will woo her, and win her, and be her husband. No longer shall she call him "ba'ali" my landlord, but "ishi," my husband.

Isaiah sets out with the wrathful denunciation of the conduct that has made light of Yahweh's holiness, his *Qodesh*, that peculiar devotion which a deity has to his clan, and he sees only trouble, moaning, death to come. Then he remembers that this devoted one had given to him a revelation that produced, indeed, sense of ill desert, but also a cleansing on his lips and in his soul; and then and there this god had actually intrusted him with a great sacred task of preaching, to cleanse and to save at least a remnant of the people. Here was a change indeed. Isaiah had expected, on the lines of his old tribal tradition, that Israel must be destroyed for her disobedience to her god, her uncleanness of tribal character. But he discovers that a new relation is possible. Yahweh is higher, better, more devoted and gracious than they had thought he was.

What was the essence of the new prophetic view of God? Two main rubrics of attributes are manifest: one is the new moral attributes in Yahweh; the other is a new relation to all men and things, and not to the Hebrews only. Yahweh was Lord of Hosts.

We saw above that the Yahwist had used this term Yahweh, Lord of Hosts, once at least, and in a significant part of his story, when David was exalting

Yahweh by planting a place of worship for him in the new capital, Jerusalem. We saw that while the term meant primarily a faith that Yahweh ruled all forces in their own land and in the sky above themselves, yet they were likely to be reading into it also the faith that David's control of many tribes or little nations beyond the boundaries of the Hebrews proper meant that Yahweh was overlord over all the deities and unseen powers of those peoples. They were beginning to realise that there might be one control over at least all things that they knew. Amos again uses the word largely, and he believes also clearly that Yahweh rules the affairs of many nations; namely, all the circle around the Hebrews who are warned of his anger at their conduct in chapter i.; and also the Africans, or the Egyptians, from whose hands he brought out Israel, just as he caused the migrations of the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir. Hosea uses the term, but only once. It is interesting to observe how the men of the larger northern kingdom thought less of their god's world-wide rule than did the people of the very small southern Judah. The north had more practical touch with other peoples; the south could dream more easily. And yet Hosea used the word; he too speaks largely of Israel's relations to Egypt and to Assyria as ruled by Yahweh.

Isaiah rises clearly in the course of his life to a grasp of the idea of Yahweh as the ruler who controls Assyria. At first he was somewhat afraid of that great power; but by and by he rises to a magnificent height where he tells Assyria, the ruler of all

nations, that she is simply the rod in Yahweh's hand. And that theory he holds to the end. He is advancing then to a conception of one control, one system of government, one supreme will, one God. Certainly he is reaching monotheism by way of an overlordship of many and even all gods under Yahweh, the god of the Hebrews.

But this theory of Yahweh's control rests distinctly on a moral basis. All these preachers stand for the *good* character of Yahweh; and they refer to it as *goodness* which everyone, men of all nations, must recognise. This is deeply interesting. As soon as the moral character of men is felt, and as soon as the preacher begins to appeal to conscience, then at once he sees all men as alike in this respect. The prophets never dream of questioning whether there be one *categorical imperative* or moral law for one land and another for another. It is right for every child of man and every nation to do right. The conscience makes the whole world kin. Here then is the great control. Here is God. As soon as Yahweh is felt to be good, then he is lord of all. Monotheism enters here; and here our vision of "God" to-day, and our sense of supreme control, is what those preachers felt and saw.

Now let us differentiate in a few words the phases of this divine goodness which they severally saw according to their several temperaments. Amos asserts simply and completely that Yahweh is good. "Seek goodness and ye shall find Yahweh." c. v. 14. This seems to be the purest of utterances. And yet the form of it is not the best, because the idea of good-

ness must have contents; and Amos leaves it much more undefined than do his fellows. That is not to say, however, that he speaks only of goodness in general, for we have seen how he condemns specific sins, and exalts by implication a fine ideal of good conduct. Yet the phrase makes the impression that the thought is incomplete.

When we turn now to Hosea we are close to a warm, beating heart. He says Yahweh's goodness is his loving-kindness, or perhaps better, his grace; for so we may render Hosea's word חֶסֶד (Chesedh). This is the wondrous love with which Yahweh would woo and win his bride. This it is that withholds him from destroying rebellious Israel. This is what he longs to see filling men's minds toward each other. This is the character that delights him; for offerings on altars he does not care. Hosea sees in Yahweh that character that our elder theologians called "Favour to the ill-deserving," and which, said they, Paul preached as the glory of Christianity.

Isaiah's discourses of the later periods, all preach this same character "grace" in Yahweh. But Isaiah goes back, takes the old word *devotion* or *holiness, i.e.*, *qodhesh*, which meant the special relation that ought to be manifested by a deity to his people; and he teaches that this devotion is really that favour to the ill-deserving which Hosea had so wondrously pictured. So Isaiah exalts the whole Hebrew idea of the nature of a god as devoted (qadhosh) to a particular people, and reads into it the new significance of Grace that Hosea had seemed to discover as now revealed in Yahweh because the old divine character seemed to

be no longer possible. Goodness which is loving-kindness, Isaiah would say, is the only character the real "devotion" which a divine being can possess.

We have dwelt long on these prophets, and especially on Isaiah, because to know them is to know all that is best and abiding in Hebrew religion, ethics, and theology.

PART IV

THE FORMAL DOCTRINAL TEACHERS

750 TO 700 B.C.

INTRODUCTORY

WE reach a period where almost any view of the whole will have to risk meeting serious criticism. It is not because the theory to be followed below implies that an Elohistic School existed. The discovery of an Elohistic document running from Gen. xv. onward was made long ago by Hupfeld. The analysts have done their work so patiently and well, that it is now pretty certain what is Elohistic and what Yahwistic; as also it seems plain that the Elohistic quota is the product of a *school of thought* and of several writers rather than of one man; and finally, it appears that portions of this Elohistic literature are to be traced as far as 2 Sam. vii., but that they cease abruptly there.

Our further statement may not be so generally favoured; *viz.*, that the School of Elohists may be assigned with a fair degree of accuracy to the time just preceding the destruction of the northern kingdom by Sargon, 722 B.C. The justification for this conclusion is, on the one hand, that the document exalts Shechem, *i.e.*, it exalts a northern sanctuary as the

chief centre of religious interest for all Hebrews, and therefore, and for other minor reasons, this literary school must be assigned to northern writers. And since the northern kingdom was destroyed in 722, that date must be the *terminus ad quem.* On the other hand, the *terminus a quo* is given by the distinctly moral and hortatory nature of the Elohistic work. The Elohists take up many of the positions of the Yahwists and deliberately alter them, most notably in the case of the Decalogue. Therefore E followed J in order of time. But do the Elohists follow the prophets; or is the reverse true? Both classes were hortatory. In reply, very evidently the Elohists' Decalogue was not used by the prophets, who would surely have been glad to use it, had it already existed long enough to become honoured and quoted. It certainly did so exist in Josiah's days a century later. True it is that no prophets, early or late, make very much use of this document. Jeremiah's references to anything of the sort are very slight as compared, for example, with the Talmudists' use of the legal and ceremonial documents of the Torah. Indeed the Psalmists, the Wisdom-writers, and the Apocalyptists, make but slight use of such documents: and we may misinterpret the Hebrew and Jewish mind toward "law" when we think that they all held the Moses-Torah in great esteem. So we need not suppose that the prophets must certainly have appealed to the Elohistic Decalogue, even if it had been in existence. Probably it was known to Isaiah and Micah in their later days. But our question seems decided fairly when we observe that while

the prophets do not use the Elohistic products, the Elohists do use the work of the prophets. The Elohists imply the aroused willingness of the people to listen to discourse, even very formal discourse : and certain formal theological conclusions, or argumentatively reached views, concerning God, his nature, and his character, and his chosen people, are used so freely by the Elohistic writers that the nation for which and in which these could be composed must have already been passing through that moral excitement which the prophets represented. The prophets are, in the strictly rhetorical sense of the term, the "inventors" of these ideas, while the Elohists draw up somewhat stiff formulations of them. The matter stands much as in the case of the revival of religion in the first half of the XVIIIth century. That was followed by a great harvest of commentaries on the Scripture and of ecclesiastical organisations in the end of that century.

But all this compels us to a further step. We must hold that the Deuteronomists, the "D" School, followed the Elohists logically and speedily. The Deuteronomists are Elohists. The Elohists planned theological views and ecclesiastical order, let us say, that they might realise the moral fruit of the prophets. The Deuteronomists said that the Elohistic spirit was right, but that this spirit demanded a more thorough logical application of its own principle. "Reflect and lay down moral orders," said the Elohist. "Organise by centralisation, else the morality will never be perfect," said the Deuteronomist. We have seen how Hosea suggested that there were too many sanctu-

aries, and that the principle of multiplying them was bad. We have seen that he came very near indicating the belief that Shechem was the most important sanctuary. We have seen how Isaiah was learning to believe in Zion as a place favoured of God, and therefore a safe stronghold, and to some extent, a specially favoured sanctuary.

Now we find that the Elohists also deliberately exalt Shechem as the chief and divinely chosen place for Yahweh's meeting with his people. We learn too that the Deuteronomists preserve the very words of E[1] which thus exalt Shechem, and so the Deuteronomic theory of one sanctuary means centralisation of all worship, and, indeed, of civil order too, in and around Shechem. In fact, the process of Hebrew theological and moral history was one steady Deuteronomic Reformation. Such a reformation was working all through the methods of formal organisation and indeed in the prophetic work which caused that organisation.

Presently we shall see how Josiah came to know of the Deuteronomic documents, or some one of them; and set about applying them practically to the management of his little state. Josiah did this in the faith that this centralisation was Yahweh's revealed will. That will, he thought, could be read in the hoary document, a century old;[2] and if this will

[1] We use this letter "E" as a brief, handy substitute for the words "the Elohistic School."

[2] It should be stated that scholars usually assign the Law Book to a later date, the majority favouring the reign of Josiah; others, as Ewald, Bleek, Driver, Kittel, the reign of Manasseh.—[Craig.]

were performed, then Yahweh would be bound by his covenant to save the Hebrew state, *i.e.*, Judah, from all ills. The faith was a material one, it followed naturally a supposed material book-revelation.

But much that has just been said depends on the nature of E. The analytical work necessary to let E be easily understood has been done, but the piecing together and reconstruction of the Elohistic writing has been only recently accomplished.[1] To put the student in somewhat adequate possession of the outline of E, the analysis of its contents is given in Appendix II., according to the restored text. It will be enough to give such an analysis for the elder of the Elohists.

[1] See *Old Testament Theology*, vol. ii. *The Deuteronomic Reformation*, by the present author. A. and C. Black. London, 1900.

CHAPTER I

THE DEUTERONOMISTS

The Problem and the Clew to Solution.

THE old-time theory that Moses wrote the book of Deuteronomy in the plains of Moab shortly before his death, needs little effort to dispose of it as mistaken. The book describes the death of Moses, and therefore the theory itself implies an editor who could have added that notice. But besides, the book as it stands is not properly a book: it is simply a continuation, with a new heading, of the same book that had been running on in the last pages of Numbers. The question arises at once, Where do we really find a proper beginning for what may be called, or supposed to be, the "Moab" utterances of Moses? Concerning this question there has been great divergence of opinion. The divergence is complicated and made difficult to handle because of a theory now out of date and evidently mistaken, and yet regarded by some as the liberal or advanced theory. It is the supposition that the book was invented by a chief priest named Hilkiah, who served under King Josiah about the year 622 B.C. Hilkiah, it is said, wrote it in order to produce the great reformation of 622. Now it is very unlikely that the Hilkiah we know from 2 Kings xxii. ff. should ever have purposed such a reforma-

tion, much less likely still that he should have written Deuteronomy to help such a movement. He was a careless priest, and had to feel the force of Josiah's reproof, especially by having to give up much income for the sake of repairs that he had neglected. He who had let the Zion sanctuary decay as he had done would never be the man to care to make it the one only noble temple of Yahweh, or to write so fine an exhortation to godliness and self-denial as we find in our document. The book, or its sources, must have come from hands that cared for Yahweh worship, and for the high moral principles of the great prophets. In short, it must have followed the Elohistic school's work and must have been related to that in essence. It is unquestionably, in many a part of it, just a step in advance in the same line of development of character and purpose. This statement requires little argument, if we but read the chapters of the book.

There can be little done, however, in locating the origin of the document until we know fairly well what parts of it are really from one author or another; that is, until we have tried to analyse it and see whether the whole is a combination of various works, as so many other Hebrew books are. This analysis has been tried by many. But only recently has there been used a clew that is plain enough when attention is directed to it; *viz.*, that there is a notable alternation of the 2d. sing. and the 2d. plur. in the forms of address. Again and again we read "Thou art" or "Thou shalt," and the like; while again we find the words "Ye are" "Ye shall," "Ye have been," etc.

Of course, such a clew is not to be followed blindly, for the alternation might occur by accident. Dr. Carl Steuernagel of Halle University, has recently published two careful pamphlets on the matter[1] and although in the former of these he certainly gives some occasion for the criticism of Carpenter and Battersby in their "Hexateuch," that the attempt is "somewhat hazardous," yet many, like Moore in "Encyclopedia Biblica" will expound Steuernagel's view with some sympathy. What is hazarded? At most the *status quo*, which is intolerable. Dr. Steuernagel observes another clew for guidance, lying among the mass of material directions and exhortations, all valuable but made mysteriously difficult for use by their great disorder in arrangement. This disorder drives one to despair of reasonable understanding of Hebrew religious development, unless there has been some good reason for the disorder. Steuernagel says, in effect, that the combination of two sets of rules, and insufficient effort to rearrange them topically, might produce just such confusion. Hence his method of unravelling the tangle. There is a clew to order in the actual disorder itself.

Steuernagel's first work sought to analyse chapters v.–xi. and xxvii. ff. by use of the first clew only; *viz.*, the separation of singular passages from plural; and although he did add a comparison of the respective

[1] *Der Rahmen des Deuteronomiums.* Literarkritische Untersuchung über seine Zusammensetzung u. Entstehung, von Dr. Carl Steuernagel. Halle, Krause, 1894, and *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes* kritisch u. biblisch-theologisch untersucht. ib. 1896.

vocabularies of the two components thus separated, yet the result was not so persuading as is that of the second work. Let us turn to that, which is an analysis of xii.–xxvi.

Here he points to the following phenomena:

There are many doublets, *i.e.*, the same thing said and said over again in a slightly altered form. And along with this there are contradictions in these.

There is the variation already mentioned between the use of "thou" and "you."

There is the strange disorder in the rules. This last appears most strikingly in xxi. to xxv.; and here Steuernagel shows that if we set by themselves in their present order those passages which may be called "Laws for Humane Conduct," then these do stand in a natural order; and so do those that are left.

Then further, he shows that in the former set the officers of the community are called "Judges," while in the latter they are called "Elders." Again he thinks that the former consist chiefly of short direct commands, while the latter are more lengthy, involved sentences in the third person. Finally, for the idea "neighbour," the Hebrew word אָח, brother, is used in the first set, while the latter list calls a "neighbour" by the Hebrew word רֵעַ, companion.

After analysing the remaining chapters of the law (xii.–xxvi.) in accordance with the criteria thus obtained, Steuernagel points out that very probably the author of the former of the two sets just described, let us call him "The Judge," is the same writer who in v.–xi. uses the second person singular "thou" in

addressing the people. This "Judge" uses the singular himself almost exclusively, and, moreover, he uses many of the same characteristic expressions that are used by that writer who in v.–xi. uses the singular pronoun. On the other hand, the author of the latter of the two sets described above is probably the one who uses in v.–xi. the plural address, "you" (let us call him "the Elder"). He does not always use the singular in his laws: but then these are not one code, but rather collections made by him. They are not really a book from his own pen, as was the case with the "Judge" document.

Before we now mark out, at least by verses, the analyses of the whole v.–xxxi. as that would follow from the criteria so laid down, it must be premised that not all of Steuernagel's results seem equally binding; and especially for this reason, that he does not seem at any time to allow the possibility that either or both of these works originated in northern Israel. He is anxious to explain any reference to Shechem as due to interpolations after Josiah's time. But why may not these references be due to the author's desire to centralise worship in and around a chief sanctuary in the northern kingdom? The Elohists exalted Shechem in this way. And those Elohists are themselves usually regarded, for various reasons, as men of the northern kingdom. Hosea, the prophet of the north, was not only one of the greatest, best men that Hebraism ever produced; but he it is who directly condemns multiplication of altars. He it is who of all prophets first and chiefly, save Jeremiah, sets up and presses home the well-

known "Deuteronomic" idea of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel. Now he seems to consider the sanctuary at Shechem as one of the most honourable, if not really the chief sanctuary in all the land. It is scarcely necessary to point out Shechem's singularly central position and suitability for a place to which all eyes up and down the country could look.[1] It is remarkable that Steuernagel himself expounds at length and finely the thesis that the author of "the Judge" element in Deuteronomy gained his ideas and his inspiration largely from Hosea as distinguished from Isaiah. Steuernagel thinks that Isaiah was rather the suggester of "the Elder" element. When he then supposes "the Judge" to have worked and written in Judah under Hezekiah and for that king's so-called "Reformation," it seems necessary to leave Steuernagel's leading. The evidence points quite away from his view. Hosea and northern Israel were surely teacher and home of "the Judge"; while Hezekiah, as we have seen, was no helper of any true reform, either under Isaiah's influence or otherwise. We may consider it fairly clear that at least this "Judge" author lived in Shechem, or Samaria, before 722 B.C., when the northern kingdom was destroyed by Assyria.

The settlement of the date is of much less importance than the discovery that the Deuteronomic movement or reformation was really of the north, although the external realisation of it took place in the south a century later in 622 B.C. by Josiah's

[1] G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of Palestine*, chapter vi., p. 117.

establishment of the Deuteronomic law of centralisation as the constitution of his kingdom. We may, therefore, look with greater interest at the documents outlined in their original form (as given in Appendix III.) as they were composed in Shechem, let us say, before they were interwoven by an editor into something more nearly like our present Deuteronomy. In the matter of analysis we shall follow Steuernagel largely, though not exclusively, turning away from him when he places the homes of the authors in Judah. For the present we set down the following facts; *viz.:*

In the "Judge" document we have:

Benevolence highly appraised and enjoined. This is equally Amosian and Hosean and Isaian.

Order in administration of justice, in manners and in worship is also earnestly desired. This is more distinctively Hosean. But now this call for order is developed into a demand for Centralisation, and this is to be centralisation on the basis of—not so much one deity but—one Yahweh. Unity in the state in all its respects was to be gained by the recognition, in the thought and practices of all, that there was one Yahweh, their father, fellow-tribesman and head, the same for all families and gates or towns in Israel. There should not be different worships, different cults, nor even different sanctuaries; all of which distracted concentration of thought about the divine, and also dislocated the moral sense and the conduct. One sanctuary, so thought these Deuteronomists, would correct such evil. And that one sanctuary should be Shechem.

All this was threaded through and through with the words and the very ideas and spirit of the prophet Hosea.

The other "Elder" document was less theological and more popular, more narrative and less regulative, more commanding and less pleading, more Amos-like and Isaiah-like, more really near to J, at least in its stage of development, than the "Judge" document was.

In fine, it seems that this eighth century B.C. was throbbing through and through with busy thought in *many* busy thinkers concerning religion and duty. One feels that this surely ought to have been the case in a time that could produce the four prophets of the period and an audience fit to listen to them and preserve their words. The easily accepted traditional fancy—for it is not a reasoned theory—that the four prophets were the only thoughtful men, or almost the only thoughtful ones, proves really unthinkable when one reflects on it. An epoch like 750 to 700 B.C. could produce, nay must have produced, a very university of theological and ethical life and utterance. And we need not be in the least hesitant in supposing that they might make rapid advances in theorising. The people who produced an Elohistic school were most fertile and fit to produce many Deuteronomists in a generation's course.

We turn then to set down our estimate of the theology and ethics of this period, including, those of both the Elohistic and the more strictly Deuteronomic stages in the Formal, or Reforming Movement.

CHAPTER II

THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE FORMAL TEACHERS

It is clear that the root of all this literary expression in the Elohistic and Deuteronomic schools was a very much awakened sense of moral need. This is manifest in the constant saying of the Elohists, "Our god is testing us, proving us." There is a deep sense, not merely that they have done their many past sins, but that they are not quite sure that they may not sin again. There is a sense of unsafe character and moral need. The Deuteronomists' emphatic way of putting this is their pleading that the children be not neglected, but be taught lest the generation to come remain low, or fall low and be lost. There is in all a desire for an improved, civic, family, and personal life.

The first and nearest consequent thought is that Yahweh is one who lifts them up. The power making for righteousness is a great fact. God, who is very real now, is a god and not man. Men had thought of Yahweh as an ordinary clansman. But a blaze of terrifying consciousness has come over them and they find themselves far from him. He tells them they must rise, and they feel they must obey; this is his "command."

The thought dawns that he is more than they fancied: they have not known what he is. With the

new knowledge there arises the new idea of possible progress in revelation. Naturally they do not set the date of this at their own time, but suppose that their god revealed himself at the Exodus in an utterly new character, as Yahweh. These writers are, however, not altogether carried away by this theory; they think that the name "Yahweh" was not used fully even after that revelation. Not all rose to it. Indeed, as Yahweh's character had been a far-off thing before that, so ever since only a few had truly grasped it. Did not Amos preach that he was not in the sanctuaries for all men, but only for the seekers of good? And Hosea had preached that he was away from the sacred city and almost minded to return to destroy it. A few persons, Moses and some like him, a family like Levi, officers duly ordained, had stood near him; in certain places, and one especially of his choosing, he had loved to be seen and known. It was impossible for those men in that age to grasp the idea of a transcendental divine spirit: so certain things, as well as persons, appeared more exclusively his wondrous agents. But now the Deuteronomists advance further in the path of progress, and add, Our god is *El-Qanna*, "Deity-ever-jealous." We have thought of a Yahweh *here* and another Yahweh there. This pains him. We must confine our thought of his presence to the one wonderful place, where we are sure he does choose to abide; otherwise we are in awful danger. So let Shechem alone be his place of manifestation at our feasts." They conceive his character as that of the deity who cares for them indeed, their own Elohim, who is absolutely alone, summing

up in himself all the many powers that they had supposed to be diverse. These are not now to be viewed as a plurality but as One. And his care is manifest in his preference of the one place, and the one kind of worship that is observed at Shechem and in his gifts of statutes and directions whereby he may prove them and save them. That was their theology.

Now what were men to *do?* What were their ethics? They were above all to be a thoughtful, an ever more and more educated people. They believed the very Decalogue was not a fixed, unalterable thing. Different forms of it had been given; or at least, different *true* interpretations of its mystic signs had been revealed. It is clear to us to-day that even the final Decalogue is not a perfect logical compend of all moral obligation, but was rather a selection of those great points of duty that had filled most largely the general religious mind during this age. The people had grown morally awake and those needs that pressed first were, to wit: due reverence for Yahweh, the distant god, not to be meanly represented; due acts and days of orderly worship; clan-reverence; due regard for life, property, sex, and character of neighbours. But there followed the notable demand made by all those writers that the Decalogue must be supplemented. Whether a generation must pass away and Moab was the place to see this, or whether Horeb itself was the place; in either case, then as always, tables of rules have to be enlarged; codes must be added. Nay, more, men fit to be the enlargers, the further lawgivers, were always to be raised up by Yahweh for his people's help. But

documents must be used; writing had become the sacred material means of divine revelation. So it has always been, and the "Second Laws" of the Deuteronomists were the forerunners of the Orders of Ezekiel and of the Priestly school, and of the Elders and their *Mishnah* and their *Gemara* long after. And what else are our Books of Discipline, our creeds, but second sets of sacred law needed wherever written law is made. Indeed, our Parliaments are proof that written law must be, and that it must be forever amended.

In those Elohistic and Deuteronomic minds the claims of order for ceremonial worship did not bulk largely: the work of Amos and his fellows had left that well in the background. The main demands were for everyday life which was to be full of *love, reasoning, teaching, and civil organisation.* Such were the ethics of those writers.

But we must note the essential and pervading limitations in their theology and ethics, and see how those very limitations were fertile and would insure enlargement.

First, the inception of the faith that divine guidance was given by and in documents was a limitation. It presumed to hem in the mind from essential interaction with the mind of God. The mind of every man must go on communing with the divine mind. Literary men would touch with editing pen the documents they read, however holy they were. New documents were the inevitable products of the older ones. Nay, more, the documents claiming to be Yahweh's words had to be commended to the peo-

ple before they would accept them. The argumentation that had to be added was as divine as the documents: new divine words had to come.

But again, the concentration of worship in one place was a limitation that brought its own rescinding. "Worship in one place," said the document; "and in all your homes teach your children to love Yahweh with all their being." Plainly, to a child teaching would be a manifestation of God. And the theory that Yahweh would manifest himself in Shechem only was thus at once thoroughly annulled. The child was to bow before the loving God at home, although he could not share in the far-away worship of the feast. The same is to be said of the limitation of God to companionship with certain singularly endowed and favoured men, or a family, or of the limitation of His action, or at least His most divine action to the occasions when a certain wonder-rod was swayed. This very limiting led men to think of the god; they felt they were not alone. The limitation burst itself. God speaks, who can but hear? cried Amos; and he was a prophet, a man truly inspired, although he said, as taught by the theology of the times, that he was no prophet!

Finally, it is remarkable that the whole movement of the time was actually toward a faith in God as something transcendent, one who was "a god and not man," above the material earth and the ways of earthly men, not to be seen with the bodily eye, but in the visions of the soul; and yet the way of the incoming of this doctrine was through the linking of God to certain wonderful, material things, instruments,

places, men. Strange surely, advance is claimed, yet men seem to go backward. Yet the movement toward transcendence had started; and if simple souls in the first overwhelmed moments of the incoming consciousness that "He is far above," did reel in feeble fashion, they were going forward, and should see better when the dazzling light grew more wonted, and out of the material they rose to the reality of the spiritual. For to think at all about faults in one's self or people and to dream of a higher ideal than the past, to guess at the unseen who demands righteousness—all this is new birth into spiritual manhood. The Elohistic and Deuteronomic schools or school marked a wide awakening, a wonderful advance of many people, and a great step forward in the life of realised religion and goodness. Such were the theology and ethics of this large class.

PART V

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE PERIOD OF POLITICAL REORGANISATION IN JUDAH

From 700 to 600 B.C.

CHAPTER I

THE CENTURY

The first great fact of these times is that in them a religious impulse changed the whole face of affairs among the people we call Hebrews. Here we might begin to say they were Jews rather than Hebrews: for the little tribe of Judah and a few companion families in the mountainous south were now all that was left of old Israel since the northern kingdom fell in 722 B.C. Just a century after that, in 622 B.C., the little kingdom of Judah made a complete revolution in its constitution, its worship, and its homes, and based its action on the Deuteronomic ideas, and on some one or other of the documents that we have just been studying. This remarkable event has moulded the Jews ever since, and become the very centre of all their formal, religious being; and it has also very deeply affected all our Christianity.

But such epoch-making events do not occur quite independently of other far-reaching movements, and

examination shows quickly that many forces were tending to excite and to aid this one occurrence in Judah. The actions and experiences of great nations all around this little one were, at the same time, uncommonly serious. The reformation of Hebraism took place in the very midst of tremendous catastrophes. Assyria fell forever just then. Her rival Egypt tried to snatch the succession, but failed miserably. The world-empire was grasped by the province of Babylon that had long lain prostrate beneath the feet of Assyria; but soon, in her turn, Babylonia also fell before the new kingdom of Medo-Persia. What throbbing of the world's pulse was all this! Surely all men must have cried: "God have mercy on us," "What must we do to be saved?" Here doubtless was a time of fever heat in the theological and moral thinking of the peoples.

But, further, Assyria fell just when she had been at a most brilliant height of her glory; and her strange overturning was wrought apparently by an entirely new factor in the world's history, a power reaching out from the very unseen, one of those great invasions of semi-barbarous hordes that have again and again altered the face of the known earth. Here was enough to strike out, as it did, the fine flashes of power that we read in Nahum and Zephaniah, and the grander bright light of Jeremiah; for the invaders marched from fallen Nineveh away down the coast of Palestine, but a few miles distant from little Zion, perched in comparative security 2,000 feet above that coast road yet terrified by the sight of the wild men.

A look at Assyria will show us that all men there

in those days were remarkably ready to think religiously, and to say as they saw the wild Scythian hordes, "What hath *God* wrought?"

There were three renowned warrior emperors in Assyria in this century: Sennacherib (705–681), Esarhaddon (681–668), and Assurbanipal, sometimes called Sardanapalus (668–626). The first of the three was a great conqueror; but he found time, and had ability to train his successor, his third son Esarhaddon in military respects to even a higher pitch of ability than he himself attained, and also to give him a notably gracious character, and a very kindly disposition toward all religions. Esarhaddon's activity ended when, after thirteen years of rule, he abdicated in favor of his son Assurbanipal. Probably he was so religious as to become ascetic, and was thus led to retire from the cares of state. His son and follower as emperor, is a still more important figure. He was, indeed, a great soldier, but far greater was his other service to the world. It was he who built up the library that has been discovered at Kuyunjik. As Assyriologists translate its tablets for us, we find a rich store of works on religion as well as on many another field of knowledge; and this tells us that religion, and thought about religion, and documents concerning the same were matters of utmost importance to this emperor. Of course, so also they must have been to his people, and likewise to the many provinces and dependencies under his influence.

But suddenly all the Assyrian activity ceased. Assurbanipal ruled long, busily conquering, studying, recording the life of his empire, and of all the world

he touched; and then suddenly we find his annals falling into confusion and silence. The people from far Tartary and farther Russia, whom Herodotus calls *Skuthoi*, brought final ruin to him and his work, his city, and his empire.

It is necessary to note one further feature of the times and their catastrophes. Assyria's world-rule meant the rise of the conviction in Assyria that all nations could be ruled as one whole. Of course the Assyrian believed that he was the fit ruler and centre of all, but the great religious fact in this is the belief in *One* system in the world, and necessarily one law, one guidance, one supreme God. All men were nearing the same faith. When Assyria fell, Egypt claimed the right to succeed her: therefore Egypt, too, believed in a unity in the world. So did Babylon, which fought Egypt and gained the world-rule. And so did Medo-Persia, which did the like ere long. But little Judah believed the same. When Egypt passed north in 609 B.C. across the plain of Megiddo, in her hope to take the imperial crown, the petty sheik of Judah—we call him commonly King Josiah—marched out to prevent Egypt and her King Pharaoh-Necho. Josiah fell, no wonder to us: but it was a wonder to him and his little host and people. Why? How did he come to and cherish the dream that he and his god, forsooth, should be the rulers of all men? It was because he had accepted with all his heart the documents and doctrine of the Deuteronomists that Yahweh was the real lord of all men, and the god of the whole earth. The religious movement that we have traced up to its highest moral

height in the prophets, to its formal crystallisation in the Elohists, and its vision of unification in one sanctuary according to the Deuteronomists,—this long rise found its rightful climax, on one side at least, in the self-sacrifice of the chief representative Hebrew for the attainment of his Deuteronomic political ideal. Josiah believed God led him. He was not wrong. Soon afterward another representative Hebrew did speak out the watchword by which all the world has really been ruled; but this man, a poor slave in Babylon, saw more clearly than the king Josiah the kind of battle that was to be fought, the kind of realm that was to be won and built and swayed. This later Hebrew was the Suffering Servant of God, whose requiem and rising again are sung in Isa. liii.

CHAPTER II

JOSIAH'S REFORMATION

At the end of our study of Isaiah and the religion of the eighth century, we left King Hezekiah on the throne. He had foolishly resisted the guidance of Isaiah and brought direct sorrow upon himself and his land. Hezekiah reigned on, a tolerated subject of Assyria, until about 697 B.C.

Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, succeeded him. He was able to hold his throne from 697 until 642; *i.e.*, fifty-five years. This implies a kindly government of his people and wisdom to serve acceptably his Assyrian chiefs, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal. With nineteen other princes he was compelled by Esarhaddon to bring material to Nineveh for the emperor's buildings. 2 Kings says he was held there for a time as prisoner, and condemns many religious practices that were common under him. The writer of this story of his life in Kings was deeply influenced by the spirit of the reformation that was accomplished by King Josiah; therefore we may conclude that in his view religion from 700 down to 640—*i.e.*, at least all through Manasseh's reign—had been steadily growing more unlike what this later writer approved. While in Assyria, Manasseh had learned Assyrian ways. Doubtless he brought back Assyrian customs of worship and ways

of thinking and also much regard for the Imperial gods.

Many have held the theory that it was by the *official* religious men of this very period under Manasseh, that the plan of Josiah's reformation was devised. There can be no doubt that the reformation was in reality the outcome of the moral and religious influences at work all through the past and at work also during this century. But during Manasseh's reign all the influences which caused the schools of Elohists and of Deuteronomists were opposed by the official religious men and their ways. Manasseh and his officers were good in their way, but they were not eager for religious advance along the Elohistic or Deuteronomic lines.

Manasseh reigned fifty years and died in 642. His son Amon succeeded him, but was assassinated by a palace conspiracy within two years. The old murderous spirit that had done so much to ruin Israel a century before was rife in the court. It speaks for Manasseh's ability that he kept this spirit in restraint; and the story that the whole people were indignant at the assassination of the new king Amon and at once brought the evil-doers to justice is further evidence that the nation as a whole was in a fairly orderly state when Manasseh died.

All the more surprising is the report of what followed. The nation as a whole was in fairly good order. But evidently they were becoming discontented with official and traditional ways. The priests were a careless set of men. Josiah on his accession

was a child of eight years; city and temple must have been thoroughly controlled by these officials. Not until he was twenty-six years of age do we read of efforts to repair the temple of Zion, which had fallen sadly into disorder in the hands of the courtly and priestly officials. The king had to take severe measures to compel the priests to restore their sanctuary. When, therefore, it is argued that these, and especially their chief Hilkiah, planned and carried through the reformation by which this temple was made the most important institution in the land, we are forced to say that that is very improbable.

What did happen? During the restoration of the sacred edifice a manuscript was found. Doubtless there were many such treasures lying in store-rooms in the building. There are ever and anon such discoveries made to-day. Recently great finds of manuscripts have been made in the monasteries in Arabia. The manuscript brought to light startled the finders and readers. Its purport must certainly have been germane to the general tendency of the times, else they would have given it little heed. It contained heavy threats of Yahweh's displeasure against the nation unless they should undertake certain changes in their religious customs.

The king sought at once an oracle from Yahweh to determine its validity. After the oracular reply, which was given by an elderly woman living at a secondary sanctuary, the king called a general assembly and read to them the newly found manuscript. Thereupon the assembly covenanted that a reformation should be made according to its requirements.

The actual innovations made in consequence of this covenant were in brief these:

All Yahweh sanctuaries outside of Zion were annulled; their ministers were brought to Zion, if they would come, and were allowed to serve at the altar there.

All sanctuaries of deities other than Yahweh, within or without Zion, were desecrated. The instruments of Baal-worship, star-worship, and lust-worship, the Ashera[1] posts, and the pillars marking the places where the theophany had been experienced were destroyed.

An entirely new fashion of holding the Passover feast was established.

Let us now set together the features revealed by the story (2 Kings xxii. f.) of the sort of religion prevalent among the Hebrews in general before the reformation and when they undertook it.

There seem to have been two shrines in Zion.

The worship in Zion, in so far as it was genuine Yahweh worship, was altogether different from that which the newly discovered document demanded. A change took place even among good religious folk.

There was much worship in Zion, and in the very temple, that startles us as we read of it. There was the *Asherah, i.e.*, a pole or symbol of a tree or of the god Ashur; and it had its sacrificial paraphernalia. So also there were instruments for worship of a Ba'al, *i.e.*,

[1] Was the Asherah worship a Judæan sort of Ashur-worship, an effort to win to their aid the mighty Assyrian war-god Ashur, whose symbol in his own land was a portable pole with a sort of human head?

a masculine deity of lordship and of fertility; and the like also for worship of many stars.

In the city and the land there were oracle mongers of the nature of ventriloquists and wizards. There were many *teraphs* or sacred images, but these *teraphs* might be such as Hosea honoured. There were others that are contemptuously called "rolling blocks" and many things called "disgusting" by the narrator.

The high-priest knew all about these; and no doubt he had power to remove them if he had wished, during the long minority of the king. But the king had to order this high-priest to make good the money revenues of the temple and pay these out for the repairs. The high-priest not only left the document lying unheeded in the temple, but is also described as showing no anxiety about it when discovered. This high-priest headed the deputation sent to consult the oracle concerning the document, but this deputation consulted neither Zephaniah nor Jeremiah. If these prophets were of the same mind as the author of Deuteronomy, it is inconceivable that the high-priest was in any way responsible for it.

Let us now set down the evidence that the manuscript which was found was Deuteronomy, or a part of it. In 2 Kings xxii. ff., the document found is described as "The book of the law," a phrase which is used frequently in Deuteronomy of the directions supposed to have been given by Moses in the land of Moab. Its contents are called "the words of the law" in the Kings story; so also does Deuteronomy speak of its own contents.[1]

[1] Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 8, etc., with Deut. xvii. 18, etc.

The manuscript is described in Kings as including "a certain covenant," and we read of "the words of the book of the covenant," and of "directions and testimonies and statutes" which it contained. These are the very expressions used again and again in Deuteronomy concerning its own prescriptions.[1]

2 Kings xxiii. 3 says that the people and king made a covenant to "guard all Yahweh's commandments and his testimonies and his statutes with all their heart (mind) and with all their soul (life)." These again are the terms used by Deuteronomy concerning itself.[2]

The reformers proceeded, says 2 Kings, to burn an Asherah and all the instruments the people had for Ashera-worship and Baal-worship and to remove all ventriloquists and wizards. This is what Deuteronomy prescribes.[3]

The king, as he hears the manuscript read, is filled with apprehension lest the "wrath of Yahweh may come upon the nation because their fathers have not listened to these words." These are exactly the same expressions that would be suggested in Deuteronomy.[4]

Most important of all is the feature that the centralisation of worship was proclaimed by King Josiah and accepted by all the people; and that this is the kernel of Deuteronomy. This centralisation is the chief characteristic feature in both records. According to

[1] Cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 3 with Deut. iv. 45; v. 1, 3, 31; vi. 1 f., 17, 20; xi. 1; xii. 1; xxvi. 16 ff.; etc., etc.

[2] Deut. vi. 5; xxx. 10, etc.

[3] Deut. xii. 3, xiii. 1 ff., xvi. 21; xvii. 3; xviii. 10 ff.

[4] Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 13 with Deut. xxix. 20–28; xxx. 17 ff.

2 Kings this centralisation was specially accomplished by the new procedure in the passover which was held not in every town and home in the land, but in Jerusalem and only there. This is the very demand of Deuteronomy.[1]

No doubt the original record which was the basis of 2 Kings xxii. f. has been re-edited and enlarged but the points enumerated are original, and they lead to the conclusion that the manuscript that was found was a part of our present book of Deuteronomy. We have already learned that there are various elements in that book. That one which uses mostly the singular "thou" and exalts the "Judges" rather than the "Elders," contains pleadings and warnings adapted to move Josiah and his people as 2 Kings says they were moved. The manuscript of Josiah cannot have contained all our present composite book, for that is far too long to be read through at a sitting. A simple calculation of the verses or words in Deuteronomy, and of those in the "Judges" document, shows how natural it is to suppose that a part of the present book, and for other reasons the "Judges" part, was the manuscript. Therefore we conclude that this was the *Charter of the Reformation.* And now it follows that the people of Judah at large had come to the stage of progress where they could, in at least this general sense, be said to hold the same theology and ethics that we found in the Elohistic and Deuteronomic schools.

[1] Deut. xvi. 1–8.

CHAPTER III

NAHUM AND ZEPHANIAH[1]

THESE two heralds of the Josian reformation confirm our view that many Hebrews of the middle of the seventh century were religiously awake and saw the dangers on the political horizon that aroused the deep voice of conscience, bidding them seek God and find safety. These two prophets worked during the twenty years in which Assurbanipal was failing and Josiah was growing on toward his maturity and his reforming work.

Manifestly about the year 640 or a little later, the tidings reached Judah that the hosts of Scythians had overwhelmed the Assyrian capital.[2] Had Nahum himself seen the deeds of those barbarians that he so vividly describes, the blood red shields, the rushing horses, and wheels with outstretched scythes mowing down all before them? Had he watched the Assyrian queen and her maidens carried away in dishonour? Had he seen the devastated city and the Scythians leaping away like grasshoppers at sunrise to fresh fields for devouring? Had he seen the poor Assyrians treading clay, wet with their own tears, that they might build up again some of the

[1] For full analysis and estimate see the author's *Old Testament Theology*, vol. ii.

[2] Nineveh fell Cir. 607.—[CRAIG.]

fallen defences? Either he had seen or had heard of it from eye-witnesses. He proclaimed it all to be a deed of divine favour toward Judah. The jealous fury of Yahweh was saving her from her old slave mistress.

But a decade rolled by and Zephaniah stood on the hills about Jerusalem and saw the invaders trampling down the low coast lands. They were hurrying everywhere. He expected that they would ruin Egypt and then march north again devastating the coast, and why not all Judah and Jerusalem? Yet the prophet seemed to think safety possible. Just as Isaiah saw that the hilltop city, Jerusalem, might be left untouched, so Zephaniah saw and trusted.

The main features of the religion of the time, as seen in these two men and their little books we may now formulate. Nahum thinks of Yahweh as ruler over all gods and peoples. He is also the storm god and a jealous, fierce deity. But his fierce passion is closely akin to his devoted love for his own folk. Nahum knows also a correlate to this love: there are about him some who truly trust Yahweh. A golden thread is woven through Nahum's dread oracles. Zephaniah seems at first sight more occupied with the condition of men than with the ways of Yahweh. The way of men is sad, fearful, fatal. There was a class, how large or few we do not know, whom Zephaniah calls "the bowing ones," and he suggests that they submit to ill-treatment respecting their landed rights. Evidently the economic condition of Judah was bad, similar to that denounced by Isaiah in chap. v., where some were described as

joining field to field until they must ere long be actually alone in the land. Amos had pointed to some such evils coming. Isaiah tells of their fatal spread. Seventy-five years later, Zephaniah feels that the case is almost hopeless; good men bow to it as Yahweh's "strange ordinance." Zephaniah is not a very clear thinker about methods of regeneration. He feels indeed that Amos's demand for goodness was too indefinite, and therefore he cries "Yes, seek goodness, but do this by seeking humility," for that is evidently submission to Yahweh. This would of course be fatalism and fatal to life. However, the prophet discovers a safe course by falling back on the Amosian faith that Yahweh is the god of righteousness. Therefore, he exhorts to follow Yahweh, the unfailingly good. The Day of Yahweh will be an awful day, as Amos prophesied; yet it will be also a time of surest comfort. Yahweh will bring purity, comfort, life.

Such were the sort of men and the sort of ideas that Josiah could depend upon to work a real moral reformation, while his high-priest Hilkiah looked on indifferently.

CHAPTER IV

THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF JEREMIAH

The Critic of the Reformation.

JEREMIAH, with whom Jesus is said in the Gospel of Matthew to have been identified, is commonly and wrongfully spoken of as the "weeping prophet," because of his plaint in chap. ix. 1 f. He felt profoundly the pitiful state of his countrymen, but he was a man and no whimperer. He was keen of conscience and possessed a strong sense of his own individuality and personality unlike the conceptions of earlier days when men thought only of the tribe. "Conscience condemns each one of us," was his cry, "but Yahweh is near to help each *personally*." Here we may anticipate a little to say that the lyric songs of Isa. xli., xlix., li., liii., in honour of the true servant of Yahweh probably meant a real individual person, because they evidently had Jeremiah in mind, as we may see by the similarity in speech and thought of Isa. liii. 1, 7, 8, and Jer. xi. 18, 19.

Most important for us to consider is Jeremiah's way of dealing with the Deuteronomic reformation. Were all Hebrews to be satisfied with the Deuteronomic plan? Why must the answer be negative, and why do we call Jeremiah the critic of the reformation? The question calls for an analysis of the book. The

list of the dates here given will enable the reader to hold in chronological relation the stages of thought that we are trying to grasp.

The last great Assyrian Emperor, Assurbanipal, ruled from ..... B.C.	668–626.
The Scythians poured south over Media, Nineveh, and Syria to Egypt from	640–630.
Josiah was king and in his minority.....	640–627.
He reigned until.....	609.
Nahum preached.....	640 onward.
Zephaniah preached.....	630 onward.
Jeremiah preached.....	627–588, *i.e.*, 40 years.
The empire of Babylon was established by Nabopolassar.....	624.
Nineveh was destroyed about.....	610.
Pharaoh Necho marched north and Josiah opposed him and fell.....	609.
Jehoahaz, or Shallum, his son, succeeded him.	609.
Pharaoh deposed this king and appointed his brother Jehoiakim as governor.....	609–600.
Pharaoh Necho fell before Nebuchadnezzar....	606–605.
Nebuchadnezzar succeeded Nabopolassar as emperor.....	605.
Judah revolted from Babylon	603.
Jehoiakim died and his son Jehoiachin or Jeconiah was made king.....	600.
Jerusalem fell before Nebuchadnezzar, and the king with "10,000 best" were carried away.....	599.
Zedekiah, son of Josiah, reigned	599–588.
Ezekiel appeared as preacher in Babylon.....	594.
Jeremiah disappeared	587.[1]

[1] Several of these dates are only closely approximate, the data necessary for their exact determination are not at hand.—[Craig.]

We turn now to an analytical account of Jeremiah's discourses.

At the outset we meet a singular fact. We possess two different editions of the book and both are in much disorder. Our English version follows the Hebrew text. But a cursory glance will show that the sermons are not arranged there chronologically. The reader finds passages dating from Josiah's reign, 627–609 B.C., followed by passages dating from the latest years of the reign of Zedekiah, 599–588. Thus, *e.g.*, we find ch. xxi. dated under Zedekiah; we turn a page and ch. xxii. speaks of Jehoahaz who reigned a few months in 609 and then was exiled, and of Jehoiakim who reigned 609 to 600 as both still active. It seems then to imply that Jeconiah is ruling, who ruled a few months in 600–599. So ch. xxiv. speaks of the captivity of 599 as accomplished and Zedekiah as ruling, *i.e.*, 599–588. But ch. xxv. goes back to describe what Jeremiah preached in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 605; while ch. xxvi. goes farther back, even to the beginning of Jehoiakim's government in 609. So, too, ch. xxvii. seems to do at first; but in the middle of the chapter we are again with Zedekiah.

Thus the Hebrew text needs considerable rearrangement to make it a chronological picture of the prophet's words and work. So, of course, we must rearrange the chapters of our English Bible. They all show plainly that they have been bundled together, as it were, by accident. Here is a clear case for the critic or student; and indeed an easy problem for him.

But when this rearrangement is made we shall not then be out of difficulty. We turn to the Septuagint

version made by the Jews dwelling in Egypt from 300 B.C. onward, and there we find a very different book. The Greek work is much shorter than the Hebrew, containing about seven-eighths of the utterances of the latter. And, furthermore, the order of chapters in the two is not at all the same. Chaps. i.–xxiv. and lii. are numbered alike in both. Chaps. xxv.–xxxii. in Greek do not correspond to any continuous part of the Hebrew. Chaps. xxxiii.–li. in Greek are nearly the same as chaps. xxvi.–xlv. of the Hebrew. All this has theological and ethical significance. It throws light upon the religious mind of the people who first read Jeremiah. It is evident that the Jews themselves, both in Judea and in Egypt, felt free to rearrange the oracles of the prophet if they chose, to omit passages or insert them according to *their* idea of their importance.

For an outline analysis and rearrangement of the text in chronological order see Appendix IV.

We turn now to the leading features of the oracles and first to those which seem to have been written down in 605 B.C., the fifth year of Jehoiachin. Observe the importance of the date. Nineveh, and Assyria with it, had fallen in 610 B.C. before the allied Babylonians and Medes. At once Pharaoh-Necho, King of Egypt, marched away to try to seize the now vacant imperial throne. King Josiah went out to prevent Pharaoh. He was moved, partly perhaps by loyalty to his old suzerain Assyria, partly no doubt by his Deuteronomic faith. It was just about twelve years since he and his folk had covenanted to be Yahweh's people in a new, higher and better

way; and that way seemed to be coupled with assurances of Yahweh's material help to success in earthly affairs. No doubt Josiah felt sure he would be helped of heaven, and his hundreds would put Egypt's ten thousands to flight. He fought Egypt on the plain of Megiddo, a battle ever since regarded by devout Jews as the beginning of the final war between heaven and hell, and of the victory of good over evil. The last great conflict is to be there, upon Ar-Mageddon, as it is called in the Book of Revelation.[1] But Josiah's effort failed: he was slain on this battlefield. Instead of his faith proving correct that Deuteronomy and his reformation were pledges of certain success he himself disappeared, Pharaoh seized Judah, deposed Josiah's heir Jehoahaz, laid a heavy tax on the people[2] and installed a prince of his own choice.

Jeremiah was not disheartened. He predicted that Egypt would not prove a match for Babylon, the rival candidate for the world-empire. And he proved correct in his expectation; for three years later, in 606–5 B.C., the two claimants met and fought out the decisive conflict at Carchemish in the northwestern regions of the Euphrates, and Egypt fell. The Nile was henceforth a dependency of the Euphrates for three hundred years.

Jeremiah had eyes to see the reality of things. Egypt was unfit for the conflict. No wonder that the prophet now became a popular man in 606 B.C. He

[1] Rev. xvi. 16.

[2] About £50,000 or $250,000. 2 Kings xxiii. 33. The little country so taxed was about forty miles square, and not fertile. Perhaps the narrator is exaggerating.

says he had been very timid as a lad, but surely Yahweh had inspired him to preach against princes and peoples and would be with him to deliver him. His words began to be prized and a collection was made of reminiscences of what he had been preaching for the past twenty-two years. This collection included probably most of what we have in the groups marked I, a, b, c, d, in our Appendix IV.

Of these passages, ch. i. contains, besides what we have described, one feature which is of first importance in the story of Hebrew theology. The preacher believes in a *divine care for himself individually.* Here is the first of a series of great advances that Jeremiah made. Isaiah had held up as a symbol of his highest faith the name *Immanu-El*, which means "there is a deity with us." Isaiah still stood on the elder side of the border line between highest religious valuation of the community, the clan-blood, and highest religious valuation of the individual, the soul. Jeremiah was on the younger side of the line. He proclaimed the new era. No wonder if we find other great advances in his own work, and greater advances still just after him in men that he inspired.

The second set of passages, chaps. ii.–vi., belong nearly to one date, and stand, probably, pretty nearly in their original order. Their notable characteristics are:

Their dependence on Hosea in their appeals to the lessons of the youthful days of the Hebrews; also in their condemnations of unchastity; in their desire to do away with all idea of Yahweh as one of the *baʿal* deities, *i.e.*, a source of agricultural blessings; and,

finally, in their polemic against *many* sanctuaries. The tenderness of Jeremiah is also that of Hosea over again.

The group is full of echoes of the noise of the terrible Scythians.

The discourses plead for the Deuteronomic plan of Josiah. See especially iii. 14, and v. 17; if it is genuine, Zion towers up as the one sanctuary.

The preacher goes so far in ch. iii. 16 as to decry the "ark," the old casket in which the sacred slabs from Horeb or Sinai were preserved. Evidently the slabs and casket used to journey about from place to place. That was indeed a unifying factor, but it is now to be superseded.

The discourses of the next group are more severe. And first we find chaps. xi., xii., xviii. In these we discover the words on which the wonderful hymn of Isaiah liii. is based. Jeremiah was led as a sheep to the slaughter. Men thought to cut him off from life and remembrance. He had doubtless gone all about the land preaching the gospel of the new Deuteronomic covenant, as Cheyne points out; and this would be resented by the lovers of the old sanctuaries. So the men of Anathoth, his own home, and an old sanctuary, were especially vicious against him. Jeremiah was, of course, doing damage to their interests. But the passages show that the prophet himself could be cruel in cursing.

In xviii. we see another of Jeremiah's advances, based indeed on Hosea. He loves to study *the mind.* Certainly he is a man of his time, and has an almost Mohammedan belief in Fate. But he begins to ask

what *will* is. Thus he makes notable psychological advances.

Passing to chaps. vii.–x. we see how his thinking leads him forward. He rises now above and away from the Deuteronomic faith. He declares: "We have believed that this temple in Zion was to be the one place where Yahweh would surely meet with us. *That is false!*" Astounding utterance! Jeremiah proceeds to argue the question. He says, "You believe you may chant: 'Here we are safe, free to do after our own heart's pleasure.' Your pleasure is to steal and murder and be impure. All this and much more you do is utterly unlike Yahweh's way. He is not here. He will avenge your insult." He adds another claim that is as startling. "We believed that we were commanded to sacrifice, that is, to hold joyful feasts of flesh in family circles gathered about this sanctuary. *We were not commanded to sacrifice,* but to listen to Yahweh's voice. And that voice in all his prophets says, 'Be just and kind, like Yahweh.'"

Thus Jeremiah's third great advance was a criticism of the Deuteronomic reformation. He declares that the reformation has not made them good and Yahweh-like: therefore, they are not safe from invasion and oppression.

The next group opens in 605 B.C. with ch. xxv. and immediately proves the prophet's readiness to turn quite away from a former position when new occasions arise. All along he had been condemning coquetting with Egypt. But now Egypt has fallen; Babylon is mistress, as Jeremiah had expected, and

she is to be feared. Therefore Jeremiah preaches comfort against this new anxiety. This new Babylonian empire is not God, nor will it stand forever. Yahweh will by and by give Babylon the cup of ruin to drink, although now she is to be supreme for a season. This is followed in due order, by chaps. xlvi.–xlix., picturing the lot of all the peoples that dwelt around Judah.

Very little need be said now about all that remains of the book. For all that is left occupied only about seventeen years, *i.e.*, a shorter space of time than the former portion which occupied about twenty-two. And the remaining thirty-three chapters are for our purposes of less moment than the nineteen chapters already considered. The utterances in the years of unpopularity are naturally enough the best.

Of the second subdivision defined in the Appendix we must mention these passages.

Chaps. xiv.–xvii., amid which, in the lament over drought, there is a remarkable bit of theologising concerning the meaning of the divine name Yahweh. See especially xiv. 7, 9, 21 f., where Jeremiah pretty clearly implies a belief that the name means "He who causes the rain to fall." Ch. xv. pictures Moses and Samuel as pre-eminently men of prayer. Ch. xvi. is the first passage where we find a saying used by Jeremiah and then copied a great number of times by Ezekiel, namely: All events and experiences in Hebrew story are to come to pass to *the end that men may know the character of the god of the Hebrews*, or, "that they may know that he is Yahweh." Ch. xvii. contains more studies of "the will"; also a

beautiful utterance of prayer. Another study of "the will" is given in ch. xiii. dating probably under Jeconiah, in the parable of the girdle that rotted. A fatalistic persistence of character is asserted in the well-known saying, "Can an Ethiopian change his skin or a leopard his spots?"

In the utterances under King Zedekiah, from 599–588, there appears one more of the prophet's notable advances. He declares his firm belief that Yahweh has ordained Babylon to be for a time the supreme governing state. He holds that, therefore, it is the duty of Judah, in obedience to Yahweh, to accept this providential plan, and to submit to be a province of the Empire. Moreover, the Hebrews, or we may now say Jews, or Judahites, are bound to be faithful to their Babylonian masters even in slavery. The slaves are to pray for blessing on their foreign lords. The prophet is startlingly practical; he arranges and invests his possessions and buys lands, certain that to do so under this Babylonian overlordship is perfectly safe. This is Jeremiah's fourth and final advance in belief. In chaps. xx.–xxiv. and xxxii. f. we read how sorely Jeremiah was persecuted for this new faith of his.

When this city was taken, and so many were sent away into slavery, the prophet was offered his choice, either to go in the comfortable protection of the commander-in-chief to a safe home in Babylon, or to stay in Judah with the feeble few who were left, "the poor who had nothing." He chose the latter, and sought to cheer them and guide them. But even they turned on him, reviled him, and carried him away to share

in the delta of the Nile the worst evils he had predicted.

It is not necessary to collect Jeremiah's theological and ethical opinions here under a separate rubric; they are sufficiently indicated for our purpose. We will only set down together the four stages of advance which Jeremiah made: these form an excellent summary of his faith.

He advanced from the faith that Yahweh was with the nation, to the faith that Yahweh was with him Jeremiah as an individual. Yahweh cares, said he, for men individually.

His second advance is that he finds the study of the mind, the will and the feelings of high importance in his efforts to understand duty and to teach his people.[1]

He rises in his third advance above and beyond the Deuteronomic or Josian faith in Zion, the one sanctuary.

He advances again and gives up faith in the independence of Judah and preaches submission to Babylon, urging King Zedekiah to go out to the generals of Nebuchadnezzar and yield himself to them.

We might say that Jeremiah's whole theology and ethics were summed up in the phrase: constant advance for the individual, the state, and the world under the personal inspiration and protection of Yahweh.

[1] According to the Hebrew ideas the *heart* is the seat of the *mind*, the *bowels* the seat of the *feelings*, and the *kidneys*, or *reins*, the seat of the *will*.

CHAPTER V

THE NEAR SEQUEL OF THE REFORMATION: ITS THEOLOGY AND ETHICS AS SEEN IN HABAKKUK, OBADIAH, AND IN INCIPIENT INTEREST IN ZION, LAW, AND PSALMODY

HABAKKUK'S short book illustrates well the conditions and the movement of thought about the year 600 B.C., when Jeremiah had almost finished his efforts to lift men above the level they had reached when they accepted the covenant of the Deuteronomic reformation.

The chief features of Habakkuk's work are:

His readiness to advance with and beyond his fellows; add to this his intensely moral attitude. In every line he cries out for honesty. He does not quote or even refer to the Decalogue, but he is of the same mind with it in denouncing men and nations who steal and rob, who are self-centred, greedy, who are bloody, who worship gods that favour such conduct. Yahweh is the only god, Habakkuk declares, who exalts righteousness as first and best. And yet this preacher upholds decidedly a doctrine of material reward and punishment. The trustworthy man in blessing others is himself blessed with life and joy. He it is who shall live, while the cruel man is a fool and falls.

Manifestly now also the uses of the pen are becoming apparent. Habakkuk declares this to be the

wise and sure way to accomplish his prophetic task. We may expect much literature henceforth, albeit of the true Semitic sort. And so we find that a Deuteronomic school was busy in these years re-editing in the usual patchwork style the scattered documents of earlier days. There was constructed about this time, or not much later, the main substance of the books of Genesis, etc., down to Judges, and Samuel and of Kings, excepting that later editing and alteration which was wrought by the Levitical or Priestly school (P) in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Another characteristic is the acceptance of the plan of one sanctuary. God came from Teman, from Sinai away in the south, says Habakkuk; but his abode now is in his holy temple, *i.e.*, in Zion. The exaltation of Zion begins now and the use of the word as almost synonymous with the abode of Yahweh begins at this date to be characteristic.

And one more feature characteristic of our prophet is his Psalm. Budde's judgment (Art. *Habakkuk*, in the Encyc. Bibl.) is doubtless correct respecting the opening verses, and perhaps also concerning the close of the song. But his criticism fails to distinguish these portions from the core of the lyric, which seems attributable to the time of Habakkuk. The claim that the "Anointed," vs. 13, means the people, and is therefore a mark of the late Jewish days, is strained and hardly tenable. The occurrence of regular lyrics in a work by Habakkuk prepares us for the nobler song in deutero-Isaiah, especially in chaps. xlii., xlix., l., liii.; and here we reach the important suggestion that the erection of the one central sanc-

tuary with the establishment of its guild of ministers, very naturally encouraged song in worship.

To this we must add that Habakkuk possesses a profound faith in the devotion and love of Yahweh. This pervades all he says, even if the fine utterance be not his, which is paraphrased so well:

> "What though no flowers the fig-tree clothe,
> Though vines their fruit deny.
> The labour of the olive fail,
> And fields no meat supply?
>
> "Yet in the Lord will I be glad,
> And glory in His love;
> In Him I'll joy, who will the God
> Of my salvation prove."

We may expect such faith in the Unseen from the companion of Jeremiah: and such men were sure to inspire to activity such successors as we shall find in the Exile a little later.

We may therefore reasonably regard these things as the fruits of the reformation, *viz.*: the confirmation of a higher moral tone; deeper grasp of the unseen as real; the centralisation of religious thought around Zion; the beginnings of psalmody; and much use of the pen.

The book of Obadiah is possibly a product of these times or not long after. It is a reflection on the certainty of a speedy nemesis upon a cruel people. Edom has been suffering at the hands of Arab invaders; but Edom had inflicted like suffering before upon Judah. The most interesting feature for us is the writer's pleasure in this study of such a doctrine of

retribution. It hints at the coming of the "Job" cyclus of writers.

These simple Hebrews were steadily advancing. Their high morality and faith in God's nearness and love compel us to set them high among the ideal leaders of the race. With startling fearlessness these men moved from faith to faith, from theology to theology. They were not devotees of century-old systems and symbols. They give no support to the common fancy that the theology of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Malachi, is one unvarying, harmonious set of ideas concerning God, and man, and duty. Their teaching proves exactly the opposite.

But now we must add that the years around 600 B.C. were a time of formulation of theories concerning duty. It is impossible here to detail the evidence that code after code of rules, prescriptions, statutes, was written and published. We have seen some of this movement in our study of Deuteronomy: more will come before us presently. The language becomes enriched, shall we say, at this date by such words as חֹק (chōq) "statute."[1] We are quite safe in attributing to the periods following the reformation any literature in which this word "statute" and the like are characteristic. The year 622 B.C., is clearly the *terminus a quo* for such words. We are entering the "law" times of Hebrew history.

It is quite correct to attribute to this period the

[1] It should be observed that this word *choq* is the proper Hebrew term for "law," whereas the word "Torah," commonly rendered "law," does not mean *law* at all, but is exactly equivalent to "teaching," or "doctrine," or "theory."

definite crystallisation of methods for economic and social betterment. One of the worst evils that the great prophets of 800 to 700 B.C. denounced was robbery of landed rights from the poorer class by the more powerful. Deuteronomy aims plainly at setting this right, and Jeremiah comments strongly on this aim and its justice.[1] This economic movement remained strong for many a day; the problem was a hard one, but thoughtful men kept brooding over it, and publishing ever new proposals for its solution.

But all these lines of light lead to one focus, which has been ably explained by the late W. Robertson Smith, in his work on the "Religion of the Semites." He describes the earlier Semitic religions as possible only among fairly prosperous peoples. As we have seen their cult consisted almost entirely of the joyful feast of flesh where the whole clan met, and the god of the clan had his share. The god would be at peace with such a clan. Was it not he who caused all their joy because of his satisfaction with them? The sorrow befalling any individual was passed by lightly in the faith that this would soon be exchanged for a brighter share in the common gladness. The moral sense had not become awake and quick: there was little of the feeling that goodness was itself happiness. There was no brooding consciousness of sin.

But when the era of prosperity began to wane, and great world-empires crushed the lesser states by wars, slaughters, fire, and heavy tribute, then there began the selfish clutching by the more powerful at

[1] See Jer. xxxiv. 9 ff. A record of Baruch concerning Jeremiah.

the little stores of the poor. Some lost all confidence in the protection of the deity; they played with the gods of other peoples for a while, but in the end grew reckless. Some tried by secret magic arts to awaken mysterious powers, or some deities long forgotten and as it were asleep, grew gloomy, afraid that their deity was altogether hard and stern at heart; and they tried all manner of severe self-denying ordinances in the hope of appeasing him.

Both these attitudes aroused the prophets. The former godless, selfish conduct was what the great moral preachers of the eighth century attacked. The other gloomy attitude took definite form in the efforts of the Deuteronomists, and against the exaggerations of these Jeremiah strove. He shared indeed largely the spirit of the Deuteronomists, and so did all the nobler of the people. The chief faith that there must be some Statutes to which Yahweh demanded obedience, some conduct pleasing to him, was very naturally accepted. Hebrew religion of the early, naïve sort had passed away and the strong, moral demand of the prophets was also becoming a thing of the past. A new religion of "performances" was born; but this may not correctly be called Hebraism; the name Judaism is better, because it was the religion of Judah, the only survivor of the old Hebrew peoples.

Our study of Hebrew theology and ethics might end here, but for two reasons: (1) There burst from the passing Hebraism its very finest blossom and fruit, as we shall now see in the story of the earlier years of Exile: (2) Even the later Judaism was the child and heir of Hebraism.

PART VI

RELIGION AND ETHICS IN THE EXILE

500 B.C., ONWARD

CHAPTER I

THE EXILES AND THEIR PROBLEM

When Nebuchadnezzar, the new world's Emperor, destroyed Zion and enslaved its worshippers, thoughtful men seem to have turned to face the question, How can such things be? Why does Yahweh deal thus? The question requires that we remember who were these people who went into Exile. In the first deportation went ten thousand men of rank, sheiks and religious officers and skilled workmen. In the second went thousands more, all save the very poor. Behind was left Zion, the only door, as they thought, to Yahweh's presence, and all else that might make life even possible. Before them was enslavement and prison. Despair and rebellion ruled within as they trod the weary thousand miles from Jerusalem to Babylon. But some there were who knew a song a prophet had written a century before, and that Micah-song they would sing now:

> "When I fall, I shall arise:
> Now, even now!
> When I sit in darkness,
> Yahweh is a light about me!"

There were other words that some knew, for just as exile days drew near, Habakkuk had chanted,

> "Yet will I rejoice in Yahweh.
> I will joy in my God,
> Who is a saviour."

If we would understand the exiles, we must remember these songs of their fathers, also the hopes and the warnings of the old prophets who had been the conscience and heart of the people for generations past. Many a child born in that exile grew to be an old man or aged mother and never saw the sacred soil. But they were all children of a far-away land and a far past time; hidden tendrils within their souls reached out to an absent fatherland, to absent fathers' graves, to lost sanctuaries and lost joys. All these were a very part of themselves.

What had those joys been? What had called them forth? The picture of all this is in our hands in the words of the older Hebrew writers. The people had been enslaved in another foreign land, Egypt, long before; but once delivered from that, they rose to be a fairly well-knit nation. High hopes grew, rich possessions accumulated; with these wrongs multiplied, also, as to-day. With social good sprang social ills, as always. Then, as now, the voice of God, in the conscience of great preachers, condemned the wrongs, and the voice of the preacher was always an uttered thought of the nation. "Where shall we find God that we may live?"

Was it any wonder that men looked toward the sanctuaries? It was there they had been glad in

soul around their festive meal, with the natural sense of satisfied needs, and of the goodness of the Unseen who gave food and life. So, in the sanctuaries men bowed, listening for words of help. Then, when in course of time, the nation was led to centralise all the order of society and government, we are not surprised that this was done around one central sanctuary.

All men were to submit to definite duties and to statutory tasks; and so definite law began to be valued and recorded. It was believed that subordination of all things under the control of one sanctuary, with careful definition of duties, would bring temporal good and spiritual benefits to all. So people and priests, preachers and prince covenanted to make Zion sole and supreme in worship and law. They believed that this was a solemn covenant made by Yahweh with Judah, and that now all was well. Such was the faith expressed by Josiah's reformation about 622 B.C., a score of years before the Exile.

That reformation did not prove to be a success. The poor still suffered and the powerful acquired more power. Men were learning to curse God in their hearts, while even king's sons and sheiks, priests and prophets, were waxing more careless in selfishness and formalism. To Jeremiah the conditions seemed even worse than before the reformation, because less truthful.

We are apt to conclude that the Exile was a judgment on these wrongdoings. The lashing scourge of Jeremiah's preaching seems to lend confirmation to this opinion. But Jeremiah suffered worse than

many another. Was he a worse man than those? The exile came on the righteous, as well as on the unrighteous. Nay more, there was growing up a belief that just those who were bowed down with suffering were the righteous people. Zephaniah had taught, as we saw, that it was best to seek to be bowed down, for the sufferers were the real people of Yahweh. But even those who leaned toward this view must have hesitated to say that slavery was a sign of righteousness. And yet the other horn of the dilemma was as distinct and inevitable: the suffering was settling down upon all, and the best men were suffering most. Was suffering the mark of good men, and should they accept it as a pleasure? Or, was suffering the mark of bad men, and a sign that the sufferer had sinned? Either way was hard to choose. So men were driven more than ever to seek a solution of this problem, the problem of the exile, the problem of suffering, and chiefly the suffering of good men. What revelation was coming to answer this hard problem? What revelation did come in that exile?

Let us not pass this eve of the exile without noting again one practical truth then discovered, and proclaimed by Jeremiah when he counselled submission to Nebuchadnezzar as the will of Yahweh. What an outrage on the old pious belief, and respectable, organised self-esteem! Jeremiah spoke his own doom; but will anyone now question his statesmanship? He and men of like mind were not the only prophets of those days: they tell us themselves how one Hananiah and others prophesied against them and were

quite popular because they did so. Yet the generations following have preserved for us the writings of Jeremiah and not those of Hananiah. The world soon saw that Jeremiah was the wiser man. And this is all the more notable because there was evidently a strong reaction against all such prophets as Jeremiah, indeed, against all whom we may call the more spiritual.

CHAPTER II

THE EXILIC LITERATURE

We are singularly well supplied with literature produced by the exiles or by men of that time. The residence in Babylon seems to have favoured the studious, reflecting and literary spirit. This was perfectly natural. Babylon had been a home of literary men for thousands of years. And there might be plenty of opportunity for thoughtful Jews to read, to think, and to write, although they were slaves. A proper understanding of Oriental slavery will show this at once.

We have a large store of such literary work. We have it in Ezekiel, also in some chapters of the book of Leviticus, xvii.–xxvi., which were written by a friend of Ezekiel, and which seem to have been specially dear to the exiles. The Jews of Alexander's time, 300 B.C., attributed this part of Leviticus to Jeremiah.[1] Probably the book of Job also tells us

[1] See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, and compare with this Leviticus xxv. 4 ff. and xxvi. 34 f., 43. The books of Chronicles date, at earliest, from Alexander's time,* as is seen in many references in the books to matters of that date, *e.g.*, names of priests, princes, and coins. The words of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 are, "Jeremiah prophesied 'The land shall rest,'" etc., and these latter words are to be found only in Lev. xvii.–xxvi. He who quoted them thus regarded these words of Leviticus as uttered in the time of the Exile. Of course he may have been mistaken, but the evidence is nearest in date to the time of the documents quoted.

* Nöldeke, *ZATW*, 1900, S. 88 ff., maintains that Chronicles were not written before the middle of the second century.—[Craig.]

of the times of the Exile, and the way of thinking then; although it is not exactly the mind of a slave in Babylon, but rather that of some one who had gone for safety, it may be, into the desert home of the wandering Arabs.

Then that wonderful part of the book of Isaiah beginning at chap. xl. was written, as all agree, for the Exiles. Indeed, the people of Alexander's time took it for a work of Jeremiah, as we may read in 2 Chronicles.[1]

There are other books that shed light on these times, but those we have named are the chief. And, unlike the pre-exilic books, they were evidently written before they were spoken. Ezekiel was even determined not to speak at all, for a while; he afterward drew up plans for discourse, for government, and for buildings, and began to write. The times favoured quiet reflection. Perhaps, indeed, men dared not speak much aloud, for their slave masters were at hand: and besides, they were sad, for they were wont to hang up their harps, as one writes of them afterward. They thought on Zion; they were content to think.

When we turn to the writings, we find that the one question that engages them all is, Why do good men suffer? The different answers must occupy us in the following chapter.

[1] See 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22 f., and compare Isa. xli. 2; xliv. 28; xlv. 1 ff.

CHAPTER III

THE ANSWERS TO THE EXILIC PROBLEM

1. The Answer of the Writers of the Book of Job.[1]

THE chief writer seems satisfied simply to ponder on the hard matter. His pleasure is to picture puzzled men and would-be wise ones, who cause only more pain by their conceit, and also the restless sufferer himself, who gives up the stern riddle almost in despair. The sufferer closes with a noble confession that he has not reached a complete solution, but gladly leaves the mystery with Yahweh, satisfied simply to possess the faculty of reflecting on his ways, mysterious as they are.

It is another writer who gives the opening story, which is much older than the rest. It suggests its answer by its picture of the court and councils of heaven. The theory is that it is necessary to the very thoughtfulness of heaven that a righteous man's righteousness be tested. The story then goes on, with finest dramatic art, to illustrate the difficulty of persuading men—both good and wise—that this theory of testing is the right one. The later student of the

[1] There were doubtless more writers than one. The book, as it lies before us, is the answers of several men woven together. The best possible view, so far, of these elements and their interweaving seems that given in Duhm's recent Commentary: pub'd by Mohr, Freiburg, 1897.

problem uses this older story as his basis in the long arguments that follow, setting forth this solution of the problem, to wit: good men suffer to the end that current wrong theories of suffering may be overthrown. Several of such mistaken theories are demolished; especially the common arguments of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, that Job must have sinned.

In the end of the book the first writer and his picture reappear, and we have another solution. There will come, says this theory, a time when the present troubles shall all have passed away and the sufferers, Job and all like him, shall have more joys than they ever had before. None the less do all the discussions leave the problem in the last analysis of it unsolved.

2. The Answer of the "Holiness Law."

The little book incorporated in the Torah, at Leviticus xvii.–xxvi., has long been left almost unread. But it is a document of great worth. In its present form it is a composite work, much of it being Aaronitic and of the time between the Exile and Alexander. But there was a work used in the composition of it which is very certainly much earlier, post-Josian and post-Deuteronomic indeed, yet singularly analogous to the work of Ezekiel and doubtless related to his age. Its spirit and its language show this.[1] We have pointed out above one of the very oldest theories

[1] It is indeed not homogeneous, for it incorporates, *e.g.*, in xviii. and xx., documents which were never written as parts of one and the same continuous treatise. They disregard each other too much for that.

of its origin, as given in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. Its writer is a man of noblest spirit. The touch of his heart on a listener to-day, although it comes across long ages, is like that of the solemn words, "Go, and sin no more."

He shared the mind of men like Josiah and believed firmly that sanctuaries were the way to Yahweh. He had grasped also the Reformation doctrine and taught that there was only one sanctuary chosen of Yahweh, and so only that one way to come to him. But this was not enough; the ways of Yahweh's people must be strictly and devotedly in accordance with the mind of the devoted Yahweh. They must be devoted and holy to him as he is holy and devoted to them. More still, all details of duty at this sanctuary must be most scrupulously thought out and prescribed. The introductory pleadings in ch. xvii. and the prolonged beseechings of the conclusion in ch. xxvi. show the man to be one of the most eager of preachers; his pamphlet is a sermon, an exhortation born of an intense desire that is a very agony, to have his hearers do as he advises them. And one point of his plea is as plain as it can be: "Do these things, for otherwise woe will come. Suffering comes on men because they do not fulfil all the details of God's will." This is his solution of the problem of pain. His ceremonialism is indeed insufficient and narrow; we may say he is a *sacerdotalist:* but his moral ideal is as great as his ceremonialism. The two are wonderfully interwoven: witness his constant refrain, "Be holy, for I your god am holy." His demand for honesty, kindness, reverence, love, and purity is strikingly noble. Jesus

quoted this man's words as the second great law for all life. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" are words taken from this part of Leviticus. A few sentences after he has laid down that great duty quoted by Jesus, he goes back to it, repeats it and extends it to mean not only one's countrymen but foreigners also. How quickly this Holiness-Writer in Leviticus steps away past all forms that we are apt to suppose were canonical in his day! How he expands, revises, reiterates, and combines, if by any means he may set up a thorough standard. This swaying restlessness, and anxiety of conscience mark a lofty spirit and an exalted age of thought. Such an ethical spirit was born among the men who wrought the Deuteronomic reformation, who produced Jeremiah and who then went into slavery!

But the most startling mark of the man's character is the greatest of all; he is overwhelmed with the sense that there must be improvement in social purity. The man who wrote down the demands for purity of blood in Lev. xvii.–xxvi. must have had disgusting scenes around him, but he was also terribly in earnest to have the home-life of this world cleansed.

3. The Answer of Ezekiel.

Ezekiel echoes the very words of the Holiness-Book.[1] His treatise on the problem of "The Suffering in Exile" shows marks of the influence of many a teacher. He is one of those strange paradoxes that

[1] This inter-relation of the Holiness-Writer and Ezekiel is remarkably exhibited in the *Polychrome Leviticus* by Driver and White. See pp. 101 f.

are so human. He seems on the surface and by his garb to be only the official, stately, stiff; but he is one of the most human of men, as you see by his clinging to the great teachers of his people in the past and constantly quoting their words.

At first, the degradation of this great officer and his company of chiefs in slavery embittered his spirit.[1] But, by and by, as a child who ceases to weep forgets his trouble and begins to sing, so this child-man forgets his woes in splendid hopes for the days to come. While he sings, one would suppose at first hearing, that he could not or would not chant any theme save what he had learned from the fathers; for even his flight of soul to grasp a hope for radical conversion of men (chapter xi.) is plainly a repetition of Jeremiah's words. One is tempted, on reading the earlier chapters, to exclaim, How does formalism crush out originality, and force its uniformities! But reading on we find that this priestly man can burst out in utterances of his own, which are precious on that account alone, although they are not so sublime as the other sayings which he copies from the fathers. His own lower-toned conception of conversion that appears in ch. xviii. is a valuable conception just because it is a personal utterance under the influence of great excitement. The priest proves to be after all a prophet, who communes with God.

[1] His earlier complaints and charges of sin are aimed mostly at the people who are still dwelling in Jerusalem. The exiles in Babylon, the "Golah" are good; the people in Zion are bad! a special sin of these is their secret magic. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, pp. 338 f.

As we approach his solution of the problem, we learn his mind concerning Josiah's reformation. That, says he, was never truly carried out: and there lies the explanation of our slavery and pain. Our god demanded certain religious forms; we have deceitfully ignored them. He is angry at us as defaulters. This is the child's theory of a god; but the child rises even to poetry of conception as he writes his systematic book to describe what great increase of ceremonial arrangements should be made, and what abundant forms should be added to all that Josiah and his people had undertaken. It is by a new, and far larger system of ceremonies, thinks Ezekiel, that Yahweh of Israel will be certainly appeased and glad to return and abide forever in the new city. The man becomes a sort of prophet in his wealth of new priestly plans. And it is to be noted that the prophet-like and very un-priestly nature of his communication with Yahweh is sharply manifest in one feature. He does not quote any human mediator as authority for his new system. There had been such theory of a mediator very distinctly preached and nationally accepted at Josiah's reformation (cf. Deut. v.); there is but little of it in Ezekiel. This priest rises above priesthood. It is none the less pathetic to come again and again upon the marks of the man's humanity in its weakness; but then we always smile with delight the next moment, as we read of his discoveries of help. For example, he says that the sacred land is to be again the abode of Yahweh and his people. But here he stumbles and cries, as it were, "We, alas! *we* cannot

get there." To speak of an escape of any sort from the slaveholders would have been, no doubt, a serious, dangerous deed. Ezekiel does not propose any fugitive slave plan, by which to escape from Babylon. Such high mission and inspiration were to await another mind and pen. Ezekiel falls short here; this is his human feebleness. But is it not also greatness to grasp at a help that must come out of the unseen? So he cries[1] "to people the Holy Land there must be a resurrection of the dead who lie there!" This is a lesser faith than that which rises to say, "Our God can overcome men and governments, and deserts, and lead us back the thousand miles"; yet it is a faith in an unseen being, who works in ways unknown, and who certainly can construct and create the body, for he does so every day. Ezekiel here rises to a true prophet's rank and compels reverence for his theology. His ethics are chiefly ceremonial, as we have said. There were efforts made to get Ezekiel's book excluded from the collections of sacred writings which the later Jews revered; the book and the man were much too independent, thought some. Yet it is there in the collection, and its answer to the problem has been saved for us. It required independence to rise to such a task. A priest might face it, but only when he became a prophet, and claimed the right and the indispensable liberty to receive the divine intimations

[1] See his great theory, ch. xxxvii., "The Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones," which has been constantly transferred away from Ezekiel's use of it to something very different. It is his plan for repeopling Canaan without a return from the Exile.

without mediating lawgiver or compulsory adherence to customs of the past.

4. The Answers in the "Comfort-Poem" in Isaiah.

The highest lessons taught to the slaves in Babylon are recorded in Isaiah xl. and following chapters. If we consider first what the most careful examination of the text warrants us in using as strictly belonging to the Sixth century, B.C. we also note that all the supplementers must be studied in their due order. There is not a phrase added by the simplest gloss-writer that ought not to be weighed and prized at its exact historical value. But it is to be remembered that our present text is not as the first writer produced it, but is, as it were, an annotated copy.[1]

In trying to estimate with certainty what were the theology and ethics of the men who wrote during the slavery in Babylon, it seems best to be content with what the most radical judgment allows to be unquestionably the original product of the first and the second writers. By confining our views to these, we shall at least gain a good view of much that was actually grasped by the men of the Exile. We are here coming to the highest flight of Hebrew thought, and we may well be content if we find every student agreeing that this idea, opinion, faith, and theological or ethical height were attained by some of the slaves in Babylon between 575 and 525 B.C.

[1] As helps to the study of this Deutero-Isaiah, see: *Polychrome Bible*, Part 10, Isaiah; T. K. Cheyne ; Clark & Co., London, 1898. *Das Buch Jesaia;* B. Duhm; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1892.

The passages which Cheyne attributes with very few exceptions to the first writer are :

Isaiah xl., xli., xlii. 8–25, xliii., xliv. 1–8, and 21–28, xlv., xlvi. 1–5, and 9–13, xlvii., xlviii. 3, 5–8, 11–16, 20–21.

Duhm's analysis is almost exactly the same so far, but he considers that it is the same writer who continues the most of the work on to the end of ch. lv. Then both Cheyne and Duhm attribute to a second writer four hymns, *viz.* :

xlii. 1–4 ; xlix. 1–6 ; l. 4–9 ; lii. 13–liii. 12.

The first writer is he who sings the well-known touching words, ch. xl. 1,

" Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God."

Again, also, that wonder among utterances of faith, ch. xli. 17 f.

" When the poor and needy seek water, and there is none,
and their tongue is parched with thirst,
I, Yahweh, will answer, I, the god of Israel, will not forsake.
On bare hills I will open rivers and fountains in the midst
of valleys.
I will make the wilderness a brimming lake, and dry land
channels of water.
I will set in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia, the myrtle,
and the olive tree.
I will place in the desert the pine, the plane tree, and the
cypress together,
That men may see, and acknowledge, and consider, and
understand at once,
That Yahweh's hand has done this and Israel's devoted one
has created it." [1]

[1] Such in the main is Cheyne's translation.

The second writer, author of the four slave hymns mentioned, is a man of high poetical ability and loftiest religious and moral character. If we now form for ourselves a careful estimate of the mind of each of these, the first and second writers, and even confine ourselves only to the limits which Cheyne would allow, we shall see two personages of great importance to the story of Hebrew theology and ethics.

CHAPTER IV

THE FAITHS OF THE COMFORT POEM.

The Ideas Concerning God.

NOTHING seems more pronounced than the first writer's belief that Yahweh, the god of the Hebrews, is controller of all things. He holds all the stars, he calls out to them their individual names, summoning them thus from their hidden abodes. And as it is in the heavens, so it is on earth; Yahweh controls the empires, kingdoms, princes, and peoples. He arranges their times of rise and continuance, and prosperity and fall. We must observe at this point how naturally the faith of our writer has grown up, or to put it in other words, how the divine method of inspiration of great souls is the most natural method thinkable. God inspires one generation by causing them to read and study the thoughts of the previous generation. Jeremiah had grasped the idea that Yahweh wished his people to be ruled a while by Babylon; and here we have his pupil, a generation later, standing on Jeremiah's faith as basis but extending the idea much farther. For this Exilic writer has practically thrown away the idea that there are, or can be, any other gods at all besides Yahweh. Hosea and Isaiah in Jerusalem could solemnly argue against the worth and power of other gods. Jeremiah did not deny their existence, but he

had little to say of them. This writer in the Exile laughs at them. Doubtless his abode in Babylon had shown how impotent the images of the Babylonian deities were. While the Hebrew remained in his own land, he might easily fancy the gods of Babylon were very powerful; not so when he had once seen them in their own temples. Exile has made our writer a monotheist, and indeed the first monotheist among the Hebrew writers. Yahweh is to him, therefore, the *Creator* of the whole earth and of all things therein. He is the God who can give all strength to the tender or fainting Hebrew, or to the mighty conqueror Cyrus. Yahweh will give water to the wanderers across the waterless desert; he will carry the children in his bosom, and he will tenderly lead along the weary mothers on their expected pilgrimage back to Canaan.

Better still, he will forgive all iniquity, not that he will do this without having exacted full penalty for all wrong done, nay, he has required a suffering that is double the due for all her sin; but it is he who has the right to exact the penalty and to declare it paid. This view of forgiveness and of sin is not the highest. The highest stage is yet to be attained.

Little is said about the worship due to Yahweh. Yet there are a few words (xliii. 23 f.) which show that the sheep was slaughtered for a festival meal as of old, and that some sort of incense was burned, perhaps the sweet cane that is mentioned close by. Indeed it would scarcely be possible to hold in the Exile anything save a household festival, and a private slaughter for this meal, as was the later custom for the passover.

But a new worship began to burst from the hearts in song. The whole book is a poem; but here and there the writer breaks out in a rich lyric of praise and joy, as in xlii. 10–13; xlv. 8, according to Cheyne, and according to Duhm, xlix. 13. This kind of worship would be the perfectly natural spontaneous offering of glad and thankful hearts, by men gathered in their slave homes as families or in simple assemblies.

Let us reserve description of the definite plans of Yahweh for the future of the Hebrews, as this writer conceived them, until a little later. Meanwhile we examine his views Concerning the People of Yahweh.

The Hebrew people are set high in honour by some of the expressions applied to them. They are said to have in their very veins the nature of the lover of Yahweh. Abraham had been pictured as supreme patriarch of the Hebrews, Edomites, Ishmaelites, and other Arabs, by both of the great schools of narrative writers, the Yahwists and Elohists. These had all described him as no ordinary ancestor, but a friend of Yahweh and of the Elohim. But no one of the great prophets before the Exile had used these stories about him, or referred to his character. The three passages in which they seem to do so are late insertions.[1] But in Babylon men began to talk of this great ancestor. So Ezekiel names him once;[2] and the writings collected in Isa. xl.-lxvi., mention him three times. Our writer does so once, in order that he may

[1] Isa. xxix. 22; Mic. vii. 20; Jer. xxxiii. 26. See Cheyne, Cornill & Duhm, *in loc.*

[2] Ez. xxxiii. 24.

extol the Hebrews as the children of that old friend of God. Ch. xli. 8.

Again it is meant to be a similar honour when the writer claims that they are Yahweh's slaves. "Ye are my servants." The slave was a part of the master he belonged to; he shared his lord's life in sharing his lord's home and food and honour, and in a sense his very blood, for the common food they ate made common blood flow in their veins. Carried off as slaves by Babylonian soldiers, they still were owned by Yahweh, for they had learned to believe that his power did not cease at the desert's edge near Canaan, but compassed the ends of the earth.

Another very natural dignity is claimed for them. They are "witnesses for Yahweh." In that foreign land Yahweh must be made known, his might explained and extolled, his character set forth and his honour claimed. Especially are they to testify of his full foreknowledge of all events. Our writer believes that Yahweh alone can foretell. The Hebrews are privileged witnesses, as well as the only persons qualified for this task. We should note this point especially, for its natural consequence is not seen by this writer; he never becomes a preacher to those heathen Babylonians of the *universally saving love* of Yahweh. But the next writer does.

We now reach a remarkable feature of the writer's ideas; to fit these people for all their tasks, Yahweh is believed to say:

"Fear not, my slave—my chosen,
I will pour water upon the thirsty.
I will pour my spirit upon thy posterity, and my blessing upon thy offspring." Ch. xliv. 2 f.

If Isaiah xi. is genuine and from the prophet Isaiah of Jerusalem, then this idea of an endowment with divine spirit had its birth one hundred and fifty years before the exilic utterance of it. But then the poured-out spirit was to endow the prince; whereas, now it is to come down over and brood upon all the people. Micah had described the inspirations of goodness and guidance for men, which come to the preacher. And Ezekiel, of all men the hardest priestly formalist, exalted his pages with records of the works of "the spirit." So he said:

ii. 2. "The spirit entered into me, as he spoke to me."
iii. 24. "The spirit entered into me, and set me on my feet."
xi. 5. "The spirit of Yahweh fell upon me, and he said to me."
19. "I will give them a new mind and put a new spirit within them."
xviii. 31. "Make you a new mind and a new spirit."
xxxvi. 26. "I will sprinkle pure water upon you and ye shall be pure.
I will give you a new mind and put within you a new spirit;
I will take the stony mind out of your bosom and give you a mind of flesh.
My own spirit I will put in you."

xxxvii. 14. "I will put my spirit in you and ye shall live."
xxxix. 29. "I will no longer leave any of them there,
Nor any longer hide my face from them.
When I shall have poured out my spirit on the house of Israel,
Saith the lordly Yahweh."

Our writer in Isaiah xliv. expects Yahweh to pour his spirit upon all Hebrew posterity. In all these utterances we can see a great change in the thinking of the people. In early days the Semitic faith was that a common blood made a common life in the members of the tribe, both in the men and the god of the tribe. But that faith was rudely shattered. There came a day when they felt that their god went no more out with them into the battles of life. Then Hosea preached the new doctrine that Yahweh is not man's clansman. He does not join with men in the old way; but he has a new character, of loving-kindness, *Chesedh*, which they did not know before. Now he will be their husband, no longer a *ba'al*, a mere food-giver, but the husband in spirit and life and love. So the prophets of the exile reached the high level and declared:

"Our God will fill us all with his own spirit, and love."

The Views of Yahweh's Purposes Among Men.

Now we reach the climax of this writer's faith in Yahweh and expectation for the future of the Hebrews. *He is going to restore them to Canaan.* To such a Hebrew this view is absolutely necessary; for our writer still stands upon the old Semitic theory that a god and a people and their land are inseparable. Only on their own land can there be clean life, *i.e.*, harmless existence; only there can they be buried safely, because their god is the god of that land. Nowhere else but in Canaan could Yahweh properly and fully work, therefore the Hebrews must be restored

thither. The sin that was being expiated by exile is now doubly punished. Therefore the cry, "Up, ye captives, make straight across the desert a highway for your god, and away." Here, then, is a relic of the old faith. It was inconsistent certainly, and yet there were circumstances that very easily occasioned its recrudescence. The events in imperial history did this. Babylon was failing. The new world conqueror, Cyrus of Medo-Persia, was marching westward, and many Babylonians as well as Jews expected that he would come down on the Queen city, and would reduce her to her old enslavement, under the new master. The Hebrews knew that Cyrus was favourable to all religions and believed that he would favour them and send them home to their land and their ancestral religion. The faith that Cyrus was actually called out of the east by Yahweh for this task easily arose.

> "Thus says Yahweh, thy redeemer,
> I am Yahweh who wrought everything,
> Who says of Cyrus: My friend is he,
> And all my purposes will he accomplish."
>
> ch. xliv. 24–28.

Our writer goes much further: at least he does so to the common fancy of to-day, although he says only what is perfectly natural for a Hebrew. He sings on (xlv. 1 ff.):

> "Thus says Yahweh to his anointed,[1] to Cyrus,
> Whose right hand I have grasped.
> . . . . . .

[1] The Hebrew word is *Mashich*. It is very often used of kings, priests, and others who are regarded as divinely appointed to their

"To open doors before him, and that gates may not be closed:
I myself will go before thee,——
Doors of bronze will I break in pieces,——
. . . . . .
It was for the sake of Jacob, my slave, and Israel my chosen, that I called thee by name;
I took delight in thee, though thou knewest me not.
. . . . . .
So it was I who aroused him in righteousness.
He will build my city, and my exiled ones will he set free.
. . . . . .
I have brought near my gift, it is not far off,
And it is my deliverance that is not to tarry,
I appoint in Zion deliverance and for Israel my adornment."
xlvi. 13.

It is quite evident then what this writer was thinking of, what events in history he was looking upon, and indeed in what year was his work. For history tells us that Cyrus, who reigned 555–530 B.C., marched westward in the early years of his reign, conquering everything before him. Therefore, doubtless, our writer was expecting the deliverance, and wrote these chapters, Isaiah, xl.–xlviii., about the year 550 or soon after that. Babylonian annals of King Nabuna'id say that Cyrus crossed the Tigris not far

tasks. So it is used by our writer to characterise Cyrus. But the frequentative form *Messiah*, meaning "One who is constantly anointed," is never used in the Old Testament indeed, it is not a Hebrew word. It appears first in the New Testament, in late Aramaic; and it is applied to Jesus. He alone is described, in Semitic style, as one who is continuously appointed of God to his task.

from Babylon about 547 B.C. But the Hebrews' hope was disappointed. Crœsus, king of Lydia, marched in 546 to Babylon's help, and the Medo-Persian had to turn all his strength to the destruction of the Lydian. Babylon was free for another eight or nine years. The poor Hebrews were plunged into darker trouble than before, for evidently the Babylonian masters wreaked their vengeance on the slaves who had plotted to be free. Such, then, is the faith, religion, and moral height of the singer of "Comfort ye my people." The expectation and prediction were disappointed: but the faith was far up toward the true height. That height was soon reached.

CHAPTER V

THE FOUR SONGS OF THE SUFFERING SLAVE

Isa. xlii. 1–4; xlix. 1–6; l. 4–9; lii. 13–liii. 12.

THE author of the four Slave-Lyrics had a higher ideal for the Hebrews than his contemporary whom we have been studying. And while the second of his lyrics, xlix. 1–6, must date indeed after the discovery that the people were not to be restored to Canaan, yet the previous one, xlii. 1–4, gives no suggestion of such discovery. It shows, doubtless, what was this noble slave's mind in the earlier days when the chant of deliverance was being published. The former writer, in that chant, called the Hebrews Yahweh's slaves; but he was very angry with their slow, slavish attitude under his eager exhortations. He cries:

"Who is blind, but the servants of Yahweh,
And deaf as their rulers!
Much hast thou seen without observing it;
Thou whose ears were open, yet thou didst not hear!"

Just before this passage the first lyric by the second writer has been inserted. He sings:

xlii. 1–6. "Behold my slave, whom I uphold;
My chosen in whom my soul delights;
I have put my spirit upon him;
He will set forth teaching to the nations.

"He will not cry aloud, nor roar as a lion,
Nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.
A cracked reed he will not break,
And a dimly burning wick he will not quench.

"Faithfully will he set forth teaching;
He will not burn dimly nor be crushed in spirit.
Till he have set teaching in the earth,
And for his instruction the far countries wait."

Here is a wonderfully high ideal, set up by a captive far from his home. This man feels he is Yahweh's slave; and therefore he will be a teacher of nations, calm, gentle, and all-prevailing. His qualities all flow from the divine spirit that is poured out upon him. The conception is quite consistent with an expectation of return to Canaan; but that hope is by no means the first thing in his mind. It is never once mentioned. Rather might we suppose that the singer is slighting the warlike mission of "Anointed" Cyrus, and holding that a far higher task than that is given to Israel, the Slave; for he is to be the world's teacher.

In xlix. 1–6 the outlook is different.[1] The purpose to teach the peoples of the world is as great as ever, even greater; it is a purpose to give to all a "deliverance" that is joyful life and helpfulness. It is, however, the new willingness to stay in exile that

[1] The metre in all four songs is the same. They run each of them in sets of four lines, with six beats in each, and of these beats the two threes in each six are parallels. Then these hexameter lines are set in pairs which have again a parallelism. And this measure is quite unlike what precedes and what follows in each case.

makes this second song most wonderful. Now the hope of return is recognised as gone and the singer tells of his disappointment. But he says in the dark hour he looked on Yahweh's character with its constant justice, and gazing there he saw that to remain in Babylon was Yahweh's gracious plan for Israel. The singers and saints had thought that their god meant them to go back, according to the old ancestral faith; but it was a mistake. It would be too little, too trivial a task for them to lead back the Hebrews to their old homes and farms and sanctuary. By remaining in the world's social and commercial centre they are to bring the joy of Yahweh's love to the ends of the earth.

Here, then, was an ideal for foreign missions proclaimed 2,400 years ago, and that by a slave in a foreign city, 1,000 miles away from his home—by a slave whose traditions hitherto taught him that the very soil of Babylon was hateful, and its people the enemies of himself and his god.

The newer light shines through dark clouds of pain in the third slave song, l. 4–9.

"The lordly Yahweh has given me the eloquence of his disciples,
That I may know how to revive the weary one with words of comfort;
In the morning he wakens mine ear that I may hearken as his disciple.
And I have not been rebellious; I have not turned back.
My back I gave to smiters, and my cheeks to those who plucked out the beard.
My face I hid not from insult and spitting.
But the lordly Yahweh will help me; therefore am I not confounded.

Therefore I hardened my face like a flint and was sure that I should not be ashamed.
Near is he who redresses my wrongs; who will strive with me? Let us stand together.
Who is my opponent? Let him draw near to me!
Behold the lordly Yahweh will help me; who is he that can worst me?
Behold they shall all fall to pieces like a garment; the moths will eat them."[1]

Let us arrange in brief theses this man's ideas of his god now.

First: The acceptance of Yahweh's commission to be evangel-bearer rouses opponents to greater hate. In other words, a sight of God makes sin more hideous; and this, not merely in the sense that it makes sin *appear* more hideous, but it causes more hideous sins to be committed.

Secondly: Such opposition produces in the slave of Yahweh only greater knowledge of Him, which is greater certainty that He is ever faithful, that He is sure to produce always far more bliss than any suffering could outweigh.

Thirdly: Thereby the slave of Yahweh is made more eager to carry His blessing to all, more quick and tender to revive the weary ones with words of comfort.

Fourthly: He becomes more humbly teachable than before. The song of ch. xlii. was rich in consciousness of strength possessed for the high tasks. But here in chapter l. is something new and startling, an utter readiness to be a *disciple*,

[1] We follow mainly Cheyne's translations in the *Polychrome*.

to awake betimes for "class-training" in the great service.

Fifthly: The calmness is greater than ever. The bravery of the singer now is astounding. "I turn not back: nay, I give my back to the smiter: aye, I give my face to spitting, and even to violent hurt!"

We must add that the singer learned directly from his forerunner Jeremiah.[1]

The song which runs from lii. 13 to liii. 12, is like the other lyrics in form and in many other respects; but it differs from the former three, in that it makes the *other Hebrews* speak of the slave of Yahweh. The first of the four makes Yahweh speak of the slave, announcing his commission; the second and third make the slave speak himself. In the second he utters his newly received revelation, in the third, his great danger and his greater devotion. But now, in the fourth, he lives no more to speak. He has died, unjustly, ignominiously. But over the grave the strange power of death appears. Death has not ended all; it has caused entirely new experiences, it has created new lives. The suffering servant has died but to live, and to be a giver of life.

The first three stanzas of this new and greater song seem partly uttered by Yahweh, partly by Hebrews. These have changed their mind; they did oppose him, and thought that Yahweh condemned him. But they are coming over to his side; they are becoming one with him now, and they have accepted his ideas about the suffering slave. All chant the paradox,

[1] Cheyne points out the close connection with Jer. xvii. 16; xx. 7.

the wonder which this man was in his life, and is in death.

The fourth stanza sketches the man, poverty-stricken, ugly.

The fifth tells how all despised him, and according to all ordinary human judgment did so justly.

But now begins in the sixth stanza, the note of confession. A revelation we have had in him, say the singers, but a revelation that is regeneration in us. We thought we understood Yahweh, and we believed that whoever suffered like this man was being beaten of Him for his faults. We find that *we* were the sinners, we the well-to-do, we the self-satisfied; and this man was altogether one with Yahweh. For Yahweh wished to give us true life, and His slave suffered what we deserved that we may go free and live.

The seventh stanza declares that they stand now on his side. His death startled them, his character bowed them in shame; so they were won over to goodness. He has thus taken away their sin; henceforth they hate and abandon it. Their former conduct, ethics, theology, were all folly. He, living and dying, suffered every bitterness with patience. His body has been flung with indignity, virtually, to the dogs; but he has obtained a posterity and prolonged his days in their new life as his followers. The pleasure of Yahweh shall prosper in his dead hands. At this point in the eleventh stanza, the text is corrupted so that none can read it.

The end of the stanza clears up again, and in it, with the two that follow, the singers pour out their new yet somewhat anxious faith that the unseen future will be

as they sing and hope. And Yahweh's own voice mingles again with theirs:—

"Yes it shall be:
With knowledge thereof my servant is to interpose for many.
Therefore shall he receive a possession among the great."

A possession it is, indeed, to have such a posterity of souls to follow him. Observe here, again, how much of the story of Jeremiah's experience is woven into this song.[1] The task is accomplished. We have seen the Hebrews rise to this great height in their view of God and of life's task, which are exactly the same as we see realised in Jesus 550 years later.

[1] Cf. Jer. xi., xii., xx.

CHAPTER VI

THE HIDDEN RESULT

THE question whether the exiled Hebrews all rose to the high level just described, as grasped and published in the four "Songs of the Slave," has been answered almost always in the negative. Commonly one hears of "The Return from the Exile," and even theologians speak of this as if the higher mission of the Hebrews had never been thought out or dreamed of as likely to be accomplished. But a change in opinion is coming about. Men are asking, Was there ever a Return? The answer is becoming possible, and so far it is clearly in the negative.

The books of Chronicles tell us how one family, that of "Ezra," *did not return.* Our Isaiah-singers did their great work in 550 to 540 B.C. They said, let us stay here in Babylon and be teachers. Two families at least stayed; and a hundred years later, about 450 to 440 B.C., one member of these called Ezra was just such a "learner" as the writer of Isaiah l. had claimed to be. He was learned in all that he counted the "Instruction of Yahweh." And more than this, he was ready to leave his home, the home where his fathers had dwelt for five generations, and go to the ends of the earth to teach his very distant relatives in Jerusalem. The story of Ezra is a proof that the idea of Isaiah xlix. 1–6 was carried

out by the Hebrews. Such, too, is the story of Nehemiah of the same time. He was not only at home in Babylon, he was in very high office, so high that his fathers must have been there a long time. There he lived an active, honoured life, and carried on important business, living all the time no doubt as a worshipper of Yahweh before his king and fellow-courtiers. And he was ready, also, to go to the almost unknown land of Canaan to serve his royal master there by acting as a wise governor. Of course all this depends on the question whether the story is reliable which is told of these men in the little books called "Ezra" and "Nehemiah" which are parts of the books of Chronicles. These books date from 300 B.C. at the earliest,[1] a century and a half later than the supposed dates of Ezra and Nehemiah.

The books of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi are the works of prophets who lived in Canaan and doubtless near Zion, about the end of the Exile century. Their dates run from about 520 B.C. on into the next century. They arose among a little Jewish people who still lived about Zion, as we know a people were left along with Jeremiah about 590 B.C. It was not possible that these should cease to carry on in some form the worship at their sanctuary after the Deuteronomic way. By the end of the century, or even fifty years after the exiles were led away, from the year 530 to 520 B.C., these remaining folk had had time to become comfortable and to merit the reproaches of Haggai for their failure to rebuild their ruined temple. So Haggai and Zechariah stood to

[1] See note, p. 215.

preach the old righteousness. But never once do these two hint that there were any returned exiles in their audience. Malachi, writing later still, says nothing to suggest that there had been a return. To these men the old enslaved and deported people were utterly lost and of no more account, just as in the year 700 B.C. the people of Judah troubled no more over the people of the northern kingdom who had been carried away to exile in 722. Those northern Israelites were lost; so, too, were the people of Judah who were exiled in 590 B.C. Those who remained, or rather their children of the two generations following, were the whole of Judah now. They knew of no return from the Exile.

There is another record mentioned above which says there was a return about 536 B.C. This we have in Chronicles in the parts now detached and called Ezra and Nehemiah. Chronicles, appearing after 300 B.C., was an heretical book, for it dared to rewrite the story of the Hebrew people, from Adam down to its own day, attempting thus to displace the Priestly Document, which we now find beginning in Gen. i. and running to the end of Kings. Chronicles was evidently in disfavour for a long time, for when it did get admission to the Jewish canon it was set at the very end, last among the lowest rank of inspired books. Certain portions of it that tell of Ezra and Nehemiah were seen to be interesting supplements to what was told in the books of Kings; therefore, these two portions were detached and set in a higher place. But the historical value of these portions must rank exactly with that of Chronicles. Torrey's careful

discussion of this question seems perfectly correct;[1] and his conclusion, p. 65, is: "The result of the investigation as to the historical contents of Ezra and Nehemiah has thus been to show that, aside from the greater part of Neh. 1–6, the book has no value whatever as history."[2] Torrey's judgment on the question of a return from the exile is, "The fact deserves to be emphasised, not passed over lightly, that outside of Ezra-Nehemiah there is not a trace of any such tradition in the Old Testament."[3] The same opinion is expounded in the Article "Exile" in the Encyc. Biblica.[4]

We may conclude that the ideal of the writer of the Slave Songs was actually attained. The children of the Exile remained in exile. Certainly we cannot suppose that they all did the noble work of manifesting Yahweh's character to the ends of the earth. And we need not expect to find records of the work of those who did so serve the world. Such service is seldom recorded in documents. But it is of interest to remember that in all parts of the world known to us, there was at this very time a notable receptivity, to say the least, for spiritual religion. This was the case in China, where Confucius was born about 550 B.C., in India where Buddha was born about 480 B.C., in Persia where Zoroastrianism was reborn about 500 B.C., and in Greece where Æschylus wrote his

[1] *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra and Nehemiah.* By Dr. C. C. Torrey. Published by Rickers, Giessen, 1896.

[2] Neh. 1–6 tells the story of the rebuilding of Jerusalem by the governor Nehemiah in 445–430 B.C.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[4] Written by Prof. Cheyne and the late Prof. Kosters.

"Prometheus Vinctus" about 460 B.C. when about forty years of age, and Socrates was born in 468 B.C., and Plato in 429. The influences which radiated from the world's metropolis in Babylon touched the homes of all these seekers after God: and among those radiating influences we cannot leave uncounted the high faith and words of the writer and first readers of the Four Slave-Songs now found in Isaiah. These men did breathe divine blessing to the ends of the earth. For their instruction the far countries were indeed waiting. To such a final climax did Hebrew Religious thought, theology, ethics rise.

APPENDIX I

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS OF THE YAHWISTIC NARRATIVE

1. The Epic of the Beginnings of Life.

1. The First Day. From an autumn soil, dry, hard and lifeless, Yahweh gathers dust, moistened by mist. He moulds a being, and breathes in breath. It lives, an Adham. Yahweh sets him amid pleasure, with work and care; and warns him that effort to get maturity will mean death. He forms next all other beasts; but none is Adham's mate.[1]

2. The Second Day. Yahweh fashions one side of Adham into woman: hence originates separation from one's clan by marriage. All beings are naive, sexually as otherwise: most so in the Nachash family which, like children, loves to question. So maturity is reached and sexual self-consciousness, in the woman first. A birth follows, with pain and with sense of bitterness in toil, and also with sense of estrangement from Yahweh. So originate curses and degradation of some beasts.[2]

3. Development follows in nomad-life, in agriculture, city-

[1] The numbers of these sections correspond to those in the author's revision of the Yahwistic Document, given in *O. Test. Theology*, vol. ii.

[2] 2a. A supplementary passage from another Yahwistic writer describes in the form of a story the conflict of the sacrificial methods of the herdman, or nomad, and the agriculturist. Blood feud arises. The writer exalts the flesh feast. But the end of the passage is lost

building, beauty, arts, blood-revenge, and the vine with its intoxications and enslavements.[1]

4. A folk-lore explanation of giants and their origin.

5. A similar explanation of diversity in languages, and of the spread of peoples: Yahweh is jealous for the privileges of the gods: Babel's early origin and that of many peoples as they migrate. Especially prominent is the rise of "men of Shem" (*i.e.*, people of name or character).

6. One migrator, Abram (exalted father), is conscious of communications with Yahweh and is full of ideals and purpose. He reaches Shechem, begins a sanctuary and a Torah-place, and is wealthy. A relative, Lot, settles in the Sodom and Gomorrah region. The stories of folk-lore are now all grouped successively around various sanctuaries. SHECHEM is the *first central point* of events.

7. The writer describes the chief ideal and hope of the Hebrews, as grasped by the great ancestor while in communion with Yahweh, and solemnly inaugurated by a sacrificial feast (the victims are a he-goat, a ram, each three years, or days, old, and a young turtle-dove), with peculiar ritual which is symbolical of a sharing of both the food and agreement between the two. The hope was one of empire, which was regarded as attained under Solomon, cf. 1 Kings viii. 65.[2]

8. The customary concubinage, slavery, and blood-feud between clans of Hebrews and Egyptians: Yahweh altars, faiths, and oracles exist among both and among the related nomads of the Arabian steppes.

9. and 10. Idyllic and very anthropomorphic pictures of an appearance of Yahweh—who is at one time thought of in the singular number and at other times as a plural, to the ancestor who is now called Abraham, while his wife is called Sarah.

[1] 3a. A supplementary passage describes a great inundation which lasts about a month. Eight persons, seven pairs of each clean animal, and a pair of every unclean sort are saved in a great boat. The story is a version of the common oriental or Euphrates valley tradition.

[2] This is indicative of the writer's date.

There is a joyful realisation that Sarah is conceiving with a play on the child's name, Isaac (laughter).

11. A picture of disgusting and wilful wrong-doing, as the reason for the origin of the Salt Sea, and the ruin of the plain. This geologic cataclysm is regarded as subsequent to the immigration of Abraham, which is, therefore, set in a prehistoric age.

12. A dishonourable origin imputed to two sister tribes, Moab and Ammon, who were afterward enemies of the Hebrews.

13. The great ancestor's numerous sons: clan chiefs, co-ordinate with the specially favoured heir, Isaac.

14. The care of the proper blood-descent: with two fine pictures, one of a slave's devotion and oath, one of a marriage.

15. Isaac's wilful deceit, and exposure: nevertheless he gets his blessings.

16. He makes covenants with Philistines concerning the difficult question of wells beside whom he is a constant *Ger* (sojourner) and who recognise that Yahweh is his tribal deity and defence. They hold a sacrificial drinking feast together: he plants a sacred tree (אֵשֶׁל or possibly אֲשֵׁרָה) for Yahweh. This sanctuary is BEERSHEBA, the *second great central point* of events.

17. How Edom is not favoured of Yahweh so much as his less manly brother Jacob (the Supplanter).

18. How the Supplanter gains through the deceitfulness of his Aramæan mother, and by his own lies.

19. Blood-feud between Edom and Jacob: more Aramæan alliance is the result.

20. Again idyllic pictures of shepherds, loves, blood-kinships, strife in the harem, superstitious love-potions, and tribe-origins.

21. Eastern ways in bargains and hire: Jacob's cunning.

22. Jacob's exodus from Aram: his altar and sacrifice with craft outwit those of his father-in-law, Laban. Origin of Gilead, or Mizpah, discussed: this MIZPAH is the *third central*

sanctuary in the story. It is an east Jordan sanctuary; cf. Gen. l. 10 f.; and Joshua xxii., especially v. 27.

23. A treaty with gifts between Edom, the land of Seir, and Jacob.

24. The origin of the honourable name "Israel" to replace the dishonourable one "Jacob" explained by a theophany: also an earnest effort of Israel to grasp the character of Yahweh. The origin of a sacrificial custom is also referred to this period.

25. The Edomite and the Israelite tribes meet in peace: and then finally their courses in the world diverge. A list of Edomite sheiks is given.

26. A Shechemite effort at marriage alliance with Israel is bitterly resented by the tribes Simeon and Levi. Is this an echo of jealousy of the old Shechem sanctuary? Note that Levi is a leader in the attack.

27. The sanctuary specially called Beth-El (house of deity) with its sacred pillar is traced to a theophany, when Israel grasps the ancient ideal of empire as his own hope. This is the *fourth great central sanctuary* in the story.

28. Benjamin's origin near Ephrath, amid sorrow.

29. Reuben's impurity.

Judah's likewise and his dishonourable posterity.

Joseph is described as honoured from boyhood by the rightful authority of the clan, and therefore envied by his fellow tribes. Judah defends him. Yet he has to endure slavery through the connivance of the Ishmael tribe. He is slave to the Egyptians. Prosperity follows him. He is made a priest in Egypt, becomes a seer, then a prince next to the Pharaoh, wisely conducting the state through a famine.

30. All Israel migrates to Egypt for food, and the prince Joseph gradually reveals himself. Judah is meanwhile their truly noble chief and spokesman. Special favour is shown to Benjamin at first; but ultimately he drops almost out of notice. Joseph seems to practise divination with a drinking cup.

31. The migrating Hebrews settle in a district called Goshen, to be well away from the Egyptians who are said to

abominate all such as use herds and flocks as means of life. Some become Pharaoh's cattle keepers. All find food and a new home.

32. Joseph, the Hebrew prince in Egypt, is described as founder of a system of royal ownership of all land except that of the priests, the land being let by the crown to agriculturists at a rent of one-fifth of the produce.

33. The dying patriarch, Jacob, chants his last wishes and blessings, and prophesies thus:

i. Ephraim is to advance to be the foremost representative of Joseph—by another peculiar disregard of primogeniture.
ii. Reuben is to fail through lust-worship.
iii. Simeon, and Levi who seems added here as if he were not originally a really independent Hebrew, are undesirable men of war and violence.
iv. Judah is to be a ruling and law-giving tribe up to a dreadful day—but the text here becomes hopelessly obscure. Does it mean "until Solomon come"? The Yahwist tells the story to that date and then ceases. Why? Did he think the separation of the kingdoms was the end of the steady rise of Hebrew story?
v. Zebulun is to be a sea-coast folk near Sidon.
vi. Issachar is to be comfortable, but conquered and tributary.
vii. Dan is to be a source of Judges, and also serpent-like.
viii. Gad is a "trooping" folk.
ix. Asher shall be blessed and a royal abode.
x. Naphtali is to be fair.
xi. Joseph is to be the richest of all. Though many try to hinder him, yet the god Shaddai will give him all bliss in possessions and populousness.
xii. Benjamin is to be always preying, like a wolf.

So the patriarch dies. He is embalmed in Egyptian fashion and buried in Canaan. A great mourning service is held on the east of Jordan. This seems to be another glorifying of the third great sanctuary. See 22 above.

(Here ends the Story of Origins.)

2. The Epic of the Exodus.

34. A whole age passes. The Hebrews multiply in Goshen greatly. A Pharaoh is crowned who is unaware of the Joseph epoch; he enslaves the Hebrews in various ways, especially in making them build the cities of Pithom and Raamses.

35. The future deliverer, a child of Pharaoh's court, wanders in Midian as an exile. He marries into the family of the priest of Yahweh there. There is another fine scene by a well, with shepherd maidens.

36. Yahweh leads the deliverer back to Egypt. On the way he has two theophanies, especially at the *fifth great sanctuary* and *central point* of story in the MOUNTAINS OF SINAI.

One theophany is given as an explanation of the circumcision of bridegrooms. The second describes a vision of flame passing through a sacred thorn-tree: and, thereupon, Moses grasps his ideal and his life purpose, which is: to emancipate the Hebrews and lead them to Canaan; to win the Hebrew elders' confidence by peculiar signs, one of which is notably connected with the *Nachash* totem and serpent divinations; and to demand from the Pharaoh liberty for a three days' pilgrimage to this Yahweh sanctuary (Sinai or Qadesh).

37. Moses's return to Egypt; with pictures of brick-making and the whitening of the bricks with stubble; also a mutiny of Hebrews against Moses, because his request to Pharaoh has been punished by cruelty to them.

38. At Moses's prayer to Yahweh amid this trouble, there follows a severe poisoning of the Nile waters, which Moses interprets as sent from Yahweh who is truly a god. This is the *first* plague and sign. There were in all seven such plagues: all of them natural Egyptian evils.

39. After seven days, Moses declares that swarms of frogs will come as a *second* plague from Yahweh. The frog-swarms come. Pharaoh yields. At Moses's intercession the plague ceases. But now the monarch's self-importance revives, and he refuses to keep his promise.

40. By an inspiration from Yahweh, Moses declares that the swarms of the dog-fly that invade and plague Egypt, but shall avoid and spare Goshen and the Hebrews, are a *third* act of Yahweh. The flies come and Pharaoh says, "Sacrifice: but do so here in Egypt." Moses declines, for, says he, "the sacrifice would disgust the Egyptians." So Pharaoh yields: Moses intercedes: the dog-flies pass away: but Pharaoh is again self-important and obstinate.

41. By another inspiration Moses declares that a *fourth* plague which will come deadly to the cattle of Egypt, while Goshen escapes is really from Yahweh. Pharaoh is self-important again, perhaps through jealousy.

42. A *fifth* plague, a terrible storm, comes in due season, ruining Egypt's precious crops. Pharaoh is much humbled, acknowledging that this is from Yahweh, and is spared further storm. A note describes how the early crops were ruined, but the later ones were spared. Pharaoh again fails, and is self-important.

43. Similarly the *sixth* plague, that of locusts, visits Egypt, Moses claiming it as Yahweh's work. Pharaoh's slaves remonstrate with their lord. Pharaoh yields. He contends with Moses over terms, and will let only grown men go to the sacrifice. Finally, he drives Moses out. The Yahweh-wind brings the locusts. Pharaoh yields. The locusts go. Pharaoh bargains again, saying "Go! but only persons, no cattle." He says he will kill Moses if he show himself again.

44. New and awful inspiration rises in Moses: all Egyptian first-born are to die. This is to be the *seventh* judgment. This will prove to all who Yahweh is, and it will end the oppression. Moses goes away from the palace in wrath.

45. Moses ordains a *Pasch* (passover) or a blood covenant with Yahweh that he may pass over them when he comes with the final deadly plague. The terrible death falls in all Egypt. The Egyptian king and folk hasten the Hebrews away.

It is an awful night of watching, truly a Yahweh-night to be remembered. So all Hebrew first-born are henceforth to be devoted to Yahweh; and since the haste compelled the

use of unleavened bread, therefore here, says the writer, originated the rite of Unleavened Bread at the Feast of the Spring-time.

46. A Song on that Day.

The constant sacrificial fire and smoke are to be the symbol of Yahweh's ever-present guidance.

47. The narrative is resumed. Pharaoh regrets his yielding: he arms his hosts and pursues the Hebrews. They are terrified and mutiny, and would run into Pharaoh's arms. Moses is heroic in faith that Yahweh is sure to save. The sacrificial fires—emblems of Yahweh—are moved to the rear of the camp, dazzling the Egyptians and defending the Hebrews. A strong wind dries a shallow water stretch: the Egyptians seem to take its bed for a road. They turn to flee. A strong wind raises the waters, which engulf them.[1]

48. The writer notes that this time would be the origin of a well-known "Song of the Triumph of Moses," which he quotes.

49. The march in the steppe begins; first, from the sea of Reeds to the Shur-steppe, where trouble rises because there are bitter-waters. By a divine inspiration to strike the water with a certain sort of wood, it is made drinkable. The march proceeds to an oasis, blessed with plenty of water and palm trees. At the next place there is again a water-famine and the people try Yahweh.[2]

50. Here Moses is near the home of his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, who listens to the story of the escape, and chants his song of faith in Yahweh as the overlord of all gods.

51. We reach now, again, the *fifth* sanctuary or great central point of the story, *i.e.*, the MOUNTAIN OF SINAI, commonly called "The Mountain," which is Yahweh's place for touching

[1] It is notable that the Yahwist does not make the Hebrews cross the bed of the reedy sea. It is the Egyptian army that tries to do so in their hasty pursuit.

[2] This use of the word "try" (נָסָה) is important and is characteristic of the Yahwist. With him the people "try" Yahweh: whereas in the Elohistic story Yahweh "tries" the people.

earth. It is described as cloudy and fiery. Moses is inspired to ascend; but he is then bidden go down again to warn all the people, and even the priests of Yahweh, not to come near the Mountain. However, he then summons his brother, Aaron, and also one Nadab (Generous one) and one Abihu and seventy other elders to ascend with him. They all ascend and *see* the god of Israel and feast with him. The floor where he sits is sapphire-coloured, like a blaze of lightning.

52. By inspiration Moses ascends again all alone and proclaims "The Name Yahweh." Yahweh utters certain great sounds in his presence, which Moses carves on two stone tablets that he has prepared. The utterances are interpreted as the following Declaration of Agreement and Instruction:

A. Declaration of Agreement:
Yahweh is the Great Performer: his deeds for Israel shall be amazing to all men. This is the promise which he makes on his part.

B. They shall agree on their part to the following:

I. To worship no other deity besides Yahweh, who is El-Qanna, the ever-jealous deity.

II. To make no molten images of deity for themselves.

III. To devote all first-born creatures to Yahweh, either slaying them or redeeming them.

IV. Only for six consecutive days is there to be any slave-toil: on the seventh there is to be a sort of worship of the "Cutting-off" as something connected with Yahweh.

V. A dance-festival and a week of unleavened bread are to be held at the time of the spring moon, to commemorate the flight from Egypt.

VI. A dance-festival is to be held at the end of the corn-harvest: and one at the end of the year (*i.e.*, at the grape-harvest).

VII. Yahweh's slaughter-feasts are to be kept absolutely pure from all leaven (fermentation, putrefaction ?).[1]

VIII. At the feast of unleavened bread, or passover all the flesh must be eaten up in the same night.

[1] Cf. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 203.

IX. All first-fruits of agricultural produce are to be used in a Yahweh service.

X. Kid-flesh sacrifices are not to be prepared in goat's milk.[1]

Moses is absent in Sinai forty days while preparing the inscribed tablets.

53. The people meanwhile mutiny and riot: Moses pleads with Yahweh that they may be spared the judgments they deserve. Descending to the camp, he summons all who have remained faithful to help in a slaughter of the offenders. The Levi-clan hasten to obey the summons, and destroy a great number. Moses, therefore, appoints these as a special Yahweh-guard for ever.[2]

54. Here follows a thoroughly anthropomorphic but fine picture of a controversy between Yahweh and Moses. Yahweh is at first angry and revengeful; then he is obstinate, then yielding, and at last he grants a special vision of his character and even his form to Moses. The deliverer is anxious, and even vexed, then he pleads till at last he prevails, and he sees the great vision. He sees the face that is to go for ever with the people, patient, forgiving and restoring. He utters a great cry of recognition, adoration, and faith. Religiously viewed, this is perhaps the highest point in the whole document.

55. Moses invites his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, to accompany the Hebrews to the desired land; but he declines.

56. They march: in front is carried a casket containing Yahweh's "Agreement" with them, and Moses addresses it as the Present and Leading Yahweh.

57. Another mutiny and clamour for flesh-food is raised by the "riff-raff" camp-followers. They despise the provided "*Man*" food, which is here described. There comes an

[1] Many primitive people regard milk as a kind of equivalent of blood. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 1894, p. 221.

[2] It is notable that the Yahwist gives such a military origin to the Levi-priesthood. This recalls No. 26 above.

enormous flight of quail down the wind. The people gather and eat some, and preserve some. A plague breaks out, and many dead are buried.

58. Arrived at certain villages south of Hebron, Moses sends spies into Canaan. They report the *Neghebh*-land near Hebron a rich land, but the cities strong, and that men of the *Anaq* (necklace) tribe dwell there. The people are in terror and mutiny again. Kaleb (Dog), one of the spies, is the only fearless man: he is full of trust in Yahweh, and so he stills the folk. Moses is inspired to pronounce a judgment against the sin of mutiny. All the mutineers shall die in the steppes, and see nothing of Canaan. Kaleb alone is to enter the promised land. All this is probably to be taken as occurring at KADESH, the *sixth* sanctuary and central point of the story.

59. Again there is a mutiny, led by one Korah and a Philistine, with a band of important men. Their complaint is that the people are not led on to agricultural life in Canaan, but remain nomads in the steppes. Moses insists that he is not seeking to be a nomad sheik, but is following divine inspiration. There comes a fearful earthquake: the mutineers are swallowed up in a chasm, and go down to Sheol.

60. A series of stages are recorded, including perhaps a misplaced reference to the water-mutiny at Kadesh whence the spies went out to the *Neghebh:* a victory over a prince Arad of the *Neghebh*, who attacked the people but was utterly destroyed: also a well-scene, to which is attributed the origin of a noted song: thence the way by Mattan, Nachali-El and Bamoth to the Moabite valley lands.

61. The wanderers dispossess certain Amorites of the east of Jordan. Moab is afraid, and leagues with Midian to oppose them. These two peoples invite a Yahweh-prophet of Midian, one Balaam by name, to curse Israel for them. Professing entire submission to Yahweh, Balaam goes with his two lads, but Yahweh is hotly angry against him and plants himself in the way as a "Satan." The ass sees Yahweh: Balaam does not. The ass speaks: Balaam is startled, and is

subdued as he sees that Yahweh is dealing with him. He goes to Moab, but it is to bless Israel. His oracle is a singular production. The seer is pictured as very conceited. He proclaims the fall of Agag, Israel's Amalekite enemy of the days of Saul, and a great exaltation of Israel. The Moabite prince demurs to all this; but Balaam only sings on more fully his oracle of Israel's supremacy over Moab.

62. Worship of certain deities supposed to delight in sexual revelries arises through contact with Moab. Women are the leaders in the worship. Moses, moved by inspiration, hangs all the chiefs for this sin in front of a sun-deity.

63. The clans of Reuben and Gad prefer to settle in the east Jordan lands. They promise a war-league with the other Hebrew tribes, so long as they are needed to help in conquering the west Jordan country.

64. The Machirites, descended from Joseph through Manasseh, take possession of part of Gilead, subduing the Amorite inhabitants.

65. Here follows a poem called "Moses's Blessing." It celebrates the actual subduing and settlement of Canaan. Then it wishes:—

For Reuben, long endurance;
For Simeon, divine revelations;[1]
For Levi, the office of Torah-giver and sacrificial leader, as a reward for loyalty to Yahweh.
For Judah, blessings of wealth; and also deliverance from oppression.[2]
For Benjamin, that Yahweh dwell beside him.
For Joseph, all kinds of wealth, from the land and from the seasons and the stars, and special favour from the Thorn-bush deity, the god of Seneh (or Sinai), all to distinguish him above his fellow Hebrews.
For Zebulun, successful expeditions.

[1] This is remarkable. Was the author a Simeonite?

[2] This shows knowledge of the Davidic dynasty and of the situation of its sanctuary near these two tribes.

For Issachar, wealth through fishing and coast life, and a much-honoured sanctuary in their tribal territory.[1]

For Gad, great distinctions, chieftaincy, over peoples, the position of law-giver, also large populousness: all this through lion-like deeds of war and violence, and through strict adherence to Yahweh morals.

For Dan, fierceness with wandering warlike ways.

For Naphtali, wealth from the sea and the lower slopes of Lebanon.

For Asher, rich wealth from mines, for unmeasured ages.[2]

The panegyric ends with a tribute of praise to Yahweh, the god of Jeshurun or Israel. He is a sky god, a cloud god, an eastern god. He has ejected peoples to provide his own people with a country, where they dwell quite apart from other nations. He has been a saving god and a warrior-god.[3]

66. The record of the belief that Moses disappeared in the mountains northeast of the Dead Sea; that it was Yahweh who carried him away; that Yahweh showed him from the mountain-top the west Jordan lands, and then buried him near a sanctuary of the sex-god Peor, overlooking those lands, as if to witness thence the fulfilment of the pledge and gift of this land to the Hebrews.

Here ends the Story of Deliverance from subjection to Egypt.

3. The Epic of the Settlement West of Jordan, under Joshua.

67. A record of belief that circumcision of all Hebrews was performed by Joshua under inspiration at GILGAL (rolling), which is the *seventh* notable sanctuary, just after the entry into the west Jordan country, and that it was a token of the completed rolling away of the shame of Egyptian slavery.[4]

[1] So this is pre-Deuteronomic.

[2] All these indicate the author's full acquaintance with the positions of the tribes after they have got well settled in Canaan.

[3] The idea of Yahweh as a saviour is very notable. Thus far, his saving is effected by military exploits.

[4] This is the second Yahwistic explanation of the origin of the rite.

68. How, under inspiration, the Judah tribe began the conquest by taking Jerusalem, using horrible cruelty.

69. The writer thinks this event must have been the origin of a certain well-known song, concerning passive help given by the sun—and moon gods in one of the old conquests. The song has been incorporated, says the writer, in the so-called "Iashar" Record. "Stories of a Straightforward One," probably an Epic on Israel.[1]

70. How the Judahites allowed Jebusites of Canaan to dwell beside them in Jerusalem. And now Kaleb, the Kenizzite, and his folk, took Hebron, previously called *Kiryath-arba* (the Four Cross-Roads). Also how Hobab, a Kenite, settled to the south of these beside the Amalekites. The Kenizzites and Kenites seem to have been non-Hebrews that had attached themselves to the Judah clan. The name Kaleb, or Dog, and the treatment of this personage in some of the literature, especially the traditional exclusion of the Dog from Paradise suggest some dislike of these non-Hebrews. The story is threaded through with folk-lore and much poetic beauty.

71. How the tribe of the Simeonites accompanied the Judahites and settled in the south, using violence.

72. The story of Joseph's settlement, with violence, at Ai and at Luz, which was henceforth called Beth-El. This means that the tribe of Joseph planted a sanctuary there at that time. Some of the Luzites are spared and emigrate to the north, where they build a new town of Luz in the land of the Hittites.

The Manasseh section of the tribe finds difficulty in dispossessing those they attack, but they settle beside them for a while and grow stronger, and then compel these tribes to pay tribute.

So likewise do the Ephraim section.

However, this tribe has too little room, and complains to Joshua. With his sanction, the Machir portion of the Manas-

[1] The song or the idea of it comes from far back in the time of star- and sky-worship.

sites attack and take an east Jordan region, settling alongside the aborigines.

(Probably a paragraph concerning Benjamin and Issachar is lost.)

73. Zebulun sits down beside the Qitronim and the Nachlolim, but later on they make these tributary.

74. So Asher does with the aborigines of Acco, Sidon, etc., in the northwestern land.

75. Naphtali does the same with the people of the sanctuary of the sun and another place called Beth-Anath.[1]

76. The Amorites press the Danites very hard and these move off to another place called Leshem. They take this and call it Dan. The Josephites ultimately make tributaries of the resisting Amorites.

77. The writer's theory of Yahweh's purpose in letting the aborigines live on thus, beside the Hebrews, is that those natives would teach Yahweh's people to be warlike.

4. Stories of Heroes who Saved the Ibhrim (*Hebrews*) *in Times of Oppression by Surrounding Peoples.*

78. Record of the removal of Yahweh's Representative—whether this is a man, or a vision, is not said—from Gilgal to Beth-El. So Beth-El becomes a great chief sanctuary.

Ehud, the Geraite of Benjamin, assassinates Eglon, sheik of Moab, the overlord over the Hebrews. So the Moabites are subdued before the Hebrews under Ehud.

79. Of Gideon, the Abiezrite, who is inspired by a Yahweh messenger, in the days of the Midianite oppression of the Hebrews and their sad enfeeblement. There is a picture of the divine theophany, and Gideon's erection of an altar: of his gathering a little band of barley-bread eaters, *i.e.*, very poor men: and his attack on the Midianite camp. How the tribes of Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh come and help him. The Ephraimites come too and capture "Crow" and "Wolf," two Midianite sheiks; but they are angry at being summoned

[1] This Anath was evidently a deity.

to do this. Gideon, *alias* Jerubbaal, soothes them; then having delivered Israel, he retires quietly to his home.

80. The Canaanites of Shechem rise in scornful mutiny against Abimelek, the son of Gideon; but he hears of it, and comes down on them unawares, with great force, and subdues them. Then he lives on quietly among his people.

81. The record of oppression by Philistines, and the deliverance by the son of Manoah, born to unexpectant parents, after strange theophanies at a sanctuary in Dan. The youth is from his birth an ascetic, religiously pledged to drink nothing intoxicating. He is called Samson (*Shimshon*, "He of the Sun"). He has peculiar excitement of spirit at times, and then is regarded as possessed by the Yahweh spirit. He loves a Philistine woman and insists on wedding her. On one of his lover-visits, he tears a lion in pieces that meets him on the way; later on, he finds a swarm of bees and quantities of honeycomb in the carcass. At his wedding he makes a riddle of this; his wife induces him to explain it, and the company ridicule him. He takes an awful revenge. His wife is withheld from him by her father: again he takes terrible vengeance. The oppressed Hebrews fear the consequences of this and try to capture him: his great strength quite outdoes them, and he works again murderously among the Philistines.

He loves again, and it is again a Philistine woman, one Delilah. All attempts of the Philistines to take him at his lover-visits fail utterly through his great physical power. At last he lets his lover shave his head, and then his strength wanes. He is imprisoned and put in chains; his eyes are put out. But the hair grows again, and the strength and the Yahweh excitement come back. The Philistines have a religious feast, and in their merriment they think to use him as a sport-maker; but holding by the pillars of the temple balcony, he bends with awful vehemence, and the building falls, destroying a great company of his tormentors with himself.[1]

[1] The story seems to be an adaptation of solar myths circling round the shrine of the Sun-god at Baalbec.

82. Concerning a Levite who lives in Ephraim, and whose wife run away. When the husband is fetching her home, the Benjaminites of Gibeah abuse him, and in sodomite ways they put the woman to a horrible death. The man summons all other Hebrews by a barbarous message to avenge him. The Benjaminites are nearly exterminated, men, women, and children; only a few warriors escape. For these men wives are obtained by rape, at a sacrifice festival in Shilo.

All this, says the writer, shows how there was little or no common law or common action among the Hebrews, and how some system in society, and mutual agreements, and a common government, and indeed, a king, were sorely needed.

5. The Gilgal Story of the Kingdom.

How the David-dynasty arose, how the nation grew great and began to regard Jerusalem as the centre of law-giving and of religious observances.

83. Of Samuel, the Ephraimite seer and priest; how he finds Saul of Benjamin seeking lost asses, and guides him. How an inspiration of Yahweh leads this Ephraimite priest to see in Saul a fit king for Israel; how he has him share in a flesh-sacrifice, and then anoints him "to close up the ranks among Yahweh's people, and to save them from all enemies," giving him signs that will confirm this oracular call.

84. Saul goes home: all the signs come to pass. He is filled with the dervish-like inspiration, and all men see it, some being much startled by the sight. The writer thinks this must have been the occasion of the rise of a well-known proverb. Saul conceals the story of his anointing.

85. The Ammonites threaten to abuse a Hebrew town brutally. The story thrills Saul: the spirit of the gods fills him. He commands all the tribes to assemble to him for war against Ammon. He is magnificently successful, and all repair to the old "Stone-heap" sanctuary at Gilgal, the *seventh* great sanctuary (see 68), and with sacrifices there they make him king.

86. Saul forms a standing army, with his son Jonathan as his lieutenant-general; at once these throw off their semi-allegiance to the Philistines, with the result that all that nations forces are gathered for a re-conquest. Many Hebrews fly in terror to caves and rocks for hiding, many also fleeing to East Jordan.

87. A description of Saul's little army, and of the great triple host of Philistines and of its disposition.

88. At the place of encounter by the gorge of Michmash, Jonathan and his servant devise a single-handed attack. They scale the heights and reach the Philistine camp. Encouraged by their reading of signs, they leap into the fortification, and by a wild attack they create a panic. In confusion the Philistines hew down each man his neighbour, while all beholding from afar count it a visitation of the gods.

89. Saul discovers what is happening by divination with a priestly ephod or coat, and marches to the victorious attack, all his people gathering great courage, until there is wide-spread carnage.

90. Of Saul's rash vow, and order to abstain from food. Of Jonathan's unwitting violation of this. Of the people's haste to eat, even neglecting religious custom, and devouring blood. How Saul builds his first altar, or place of sacrifice. The gods are, however, supposed to be ill pleased. By divination and lots the king concludes that his son Jonathan is the cause of this displeasure, and he proposes to kill him; but the people deliver him from his father. [1]

91. The Philistines retire and leave the Hebrews free. Saul carefully strengthens his standing army.

92. How the Yahweh-spirit ceases to inspire Saul; but, on the contrary, there seems to hover about him a divine spirit that causes him terror. To ward off these terrors, the king's servants persuade him to let them bring a harper whose music shall soothe him.

[1] It is to be noted that the word Elohim is often used now as the general designation for "deities," but the name Yahweh is still the personal name for the Israelite deity.

93. They find a man of skill, son of one *Ishai*, known as David (Beloved), who is a cunning harper, and also a great soldier, wise and full of resource. Saul appoints him as his physician, and learns to love him. David plays sweetly and wondrously when Saul is troubled, and then the trouble ceases. David's wisdom and skill in affairs, and especially his military powers, make him precious to Saul and a favourite with the people.

94. But the people's praise of this assistant makes the king jealous. On a day when the evil mood comes on and David brings in his harp to play, Saul hurls a spear at him, and David barely escapes death.

95. The king learns that his daughter loves David; so, in his ill-mood, he thinks to use this affection for luring the gifted man to destruction. He lets it be told David that the dowry to be paid for the princess is a hundred dead and dishonoured Philistines. The harper is himself a bloody man, and easily kills his hundred and wins his royal bride.

96. Saul believes that Yahweh favours David; and the people grow fonder of him. The king becomes afraid of him and hates him; but the man's reputation and his "character-name" (David, Beloved) become more firmly established at home and abroad.

97. David flees for his life. He takes counsel with the king's son and lieutenant-general, who refuses at first to believe there is danger; but he soon learns the truth. At table Saul asks for David. Jonathan says that David's brother has commanded him to attend a family sacrifice. The king is enraged and strikes at his son, which is a serious dishonour. Jonathan hastens to bid David flee away.

98. David escapes. He establishes himself in a stronghold called Adullam. Round him gather his relatives, and a whole band of men, especially such as are in any misfortune. So insurrection begins.

99. David intrusts his father and mother to the kindly care of the king of Moab.

100. Saul hears of the insurrection and frets over it.

101. One Doeg, an Edomite, reports to the king how Ahimelek, priest at the sanctuary of Nob, has aided David. Saul sends for the priest and his clan and, by the Edomite's hand, for all others of his slaves refuse, he murders them all save one, Abiathar, who escapes to David.

102. David attacks the Philistines who are plundering the town of Qeilah. He makes divinations with an ephod, which encourage him ; he marches to the attack and has great success. He stays in the town Qeilah.

103. Saul learns of David's stay there, and plans to take him. David has divine guidance and retires to the steppe and to the mountain fastnesses.

104. The people of the steppe of Ziph plot to betray David to Saul. David moves away to the Jordan gorge (*Arabah*). The two leaders evade or miss each other, with only a mountain range between them. David is nearly caught ; but Saul is called off by a Philistine raid.

105. David is in a fastness among the haunts of the chamois, near the Well-of-the-Kid. Saul pursues him again to the very cave wherein David and his men lie hidden. David is urged to strike the king and be free, but reverence for Yahweh's Anointed (Mashich) restrains him. The king hears of this and is conscience-stricken ; he openly acknowledges David's goodness, and prophesies Yahweh's requital of such nobility.

106. Concerning the rich churl, a Calebite or Dog-tribesman, known by the name of Nabal (Empty-fool). He lives in the southern vineland, Carmel. David marches against him. The man's excellent wife, Abigail, comes with food to meet David. The churl dies ere long, after a surfeit, much terrified on hearing into what danger he has come.

107. David woos and weds Abigail. He marries also Ahinoam from Jezreel ; but his wife Michal is given by Saul to another man.

108. David is weary of wandering about in the Hebrew land to escape from Saul. He goes away to the Philistine king of Gath. This prince gives him Ziqlag, which is thence-

forward a town of Judah. David wars on peoples to the south, *viz.*, Gezirites and Amalekites. He kills every living soul to prevent reports reaching the Philistines. He tells the king of Gath a falsehood, who thinks David is alienating himself from the Hebrews. On a day when the Philistines set out to invade Israel, and David professes readiness to go too, the Philistine princes forbid his going, declaring he will be a Satan to them.

109. On returning from the Philistine gathering place, he finds that the Amalekites have plundered his own town, Ziqlag. His men nearly mutiny in their despair. He divines with the priestly ephod; and feeling encouraged he pursues the spoilers, kills nearly every man of them, and saves all that had been lost. Moved with indignation at the selfishness of certain evil fellows in his troop, he utters a judgment which passes into a standing statute in Israel for cases of division of spoil, *viz.*, the garrison defending the home posts shall share in the spoil equally with the troops who go to the front. He sends also shares of the spoil to many towns of Judah.

110. The story of the Philistine campaign and Saul's fall and death. The king dares not ask Yahweh to counsel him: he has long ceased to receive any revelation from the god of Israel. So he goes to a woman at the well of Dor who practises incantations, ventriloquism, and consultation of departed spirits. She professes to summon up the now long dead prophet Samuel: the supposed speech of Samuel is a fearful discouragement to the poor king, who is already well-nigh worn out.

111. There is a fierce attack of Philistines against Israel in the mountain range of Gilboa and many Israelites fall. The king and three of his sons are slain. The Philistines dishonour the dead king's body: but the people of Jabesh-Gilead give it honourable burial under a sacred tree in their city.

112. How David hears in Ziqlag of the death of Saul; and with his men makes a great lamentation over the fallen prince.

113. The writer incorporates here a fine elegy on Saul, attributing it to David. The song seems to have five stanzas, and a somewhat regular refrain.

114. David, relying on his sense of divine guidance, proceeds to Hebron with his following; he is received royally by all the tribe of Judah and is made their king.

115. At once, as king, he honours significantly the town and men of Jabesh-Gilead who had honoured King Saul even when dead.

116. Meanwhile, Saul's surviving son and heir, Ish-Baal, takes his father's crown; there is a bloody struggle between his army and David's.

117. David's power increases steadily.

118. Ish-Baal's general, Abner, marries a concubine of the dead Saul: King Ish-Baal and he quarrel over this. The general deserts to David, who is pleased; David's general, named Joab, is jealous and assassinates the newcomer. The king and people of Judah sorrow bitterly for Abner.

119. King Ish-Baal loses prestige, and assassins murder him: David executes the murderers, but does it brutally.

120. The Hebrew tribes unite to crown David king over them all: Hebron is still the capital city.

121. The Philistines of the coast make war on the new ruler: he believes he has revelations and help from Yahweh: Reassured thus, he meets the Philistines and defeats them again and again: David's troops refuse to let their king go into battle in person.

122. Lists of David's braves, the numbers somewhat confused: A fine tale of their devotion to David is added.

123. How the king collects a large army from all Israel and besieges and takes Jerusalem from the Jebusites: He makes this place his capital, building a palace for himself, with skilled assistance from Tyre.

124. He resolves to establish a Yahweh-sanctuary in his capital: after fears and delays he proceeds, and holds a sacrificial feast and dances, in which he takes part merrily with all the people.

125. How the king extends his power over Aram (Syria) and Edom, enslaving the people.

126. Lists of his sons by his six wives in Hebron; also of the concubines he took after he came to Jerusalem and of the sons born to him there.

127. Of his priests; *viz.*, Zadok and Abiathar and his own sons. His scribe is also named, likewise his captain of the foreign troops, which consist of Philistines and Cretans.

128. The king feels divinely inspired to hold a census. The commander of the troops objects; but the king insists.

129. A strange uncertainty seizes David. An inspired man, Gad, predicts trouble. There comes a pestilence, which is just reaching the capital when it is averted by turning a threshing-floor into the new altar of JERUSALEM. This is the *ninth* famous sanctuary, the *new central point of the story.*

130. A famine comes also: it is averted by appeasing the Gibeonites for injuries that Saul had done them. David makes for Yahweh a horrible sacrifice of seven descendants of Saul: then Yahweh averts the famine.

131. David seeks for any other descendant of Saul, and finds one named Merib-Baal, a lame lad: he provides him with ample support, servants, and a place of honour at the royal table.

(Thus far our analysis follows the translation and sections given in the present author's *Old Test. Theology*, vol. ii., pp. 85–277. Henceforward we follow largely the translation of the R. V.)

132. 2 Sam. x. 1–xi. 1 (vss. 21–24 require rearrangement). David was friendly toward the Ammonites: That nation requited his kindness with enmity: They leagued with Aram against David: Joab, David's general, thoroughly overcame those allies: Aram and its dependencies tried further to attack David, but were utterly beaten.

133. 2 Sam. xi. 2–xii. 7a, 9b, 10–25. David fell into adultery; procured the assassination of his paramour's husband and then married her: The inspired man judged him and he did not resent it: The first-born of this marriage died, to

David's great sorrow: The next born son was Solomon or *Yedidh Yah* (Yahweh's Beloved).

134. 2 Sam. xii. 27–31. David and his general and army warred against the Ammonites and conquered them, and then treated them with frightful cruelty.

135. 2 Sam. xiii.–xiv. 24 and xiv. 28–xix. 8a. The Absalom episode: Prince Amnon's rape of Prince Absalom's sister, and Absalom's murder of Amnon. The general, Joab, got Absalom reinstated in his father's good-will. Absalom won large attachment and then made a revolution: David had to flee; and as he went was mocked by some old followers, but cheered by others. By reason of conflicting counsels of his advisers, Absalom was moved to play into the hands of David's friends and against his own interests; a battle ensued and Absalom was utterly beaten: He fled, was caught, and miserably put to death in spite of David's express orders. The king's grief over Absalom was stayed by Joab's remonstrance.

136. 2 Sam. xix. 8b–39. The king returned to his royal city at the earnest desire of the people: he generously forgave the disloyal and rewarded the loyal among them.

137. 2 Sam. xix. 40–xx. 22. Of the jealousy between the Israelite part and the Judahite part of the people in their regard for David: A rebellion grew out of this, led by a worthless man, Sheba, Bichri's son, a Benjaminite tribesman. This rebellion was put down, and Sheba put to death.

138. 1 Kings i. and ii. (omit ii. 2–4). David grew old and feeble, and one of his sons, Adonijah, tried to take the kingship, but was baffled. Solomon was crowned king: the old king charged the new to put to death certain persons and to favour certain others: Solomon carried out these instructions, and the kingdom was established in his hand.

(Here ends what may be counted as the Yahwistic Literature.)

APPENDIX II

ANALYSIS OF THE ELOHISTIC NARRATIVE[1]

CIRCA 730 B.C.

1. The Days Before the Yahweh-Character was Revealed.

1. The first paragraphs, now lost, contained probably a tradition or picture of one of the migrations from the east.

2. One man is supposed to have become the exalted father (Ab-Ram) of all the *Ibhrim* (Immigrators). In a vision he is comforted by the Elohim with the promise that his posterity shall be as many as the stars of heaven, although they may be in slavery in a foreign land for three cycles of years. They shall ultimately chastise the Amorite people of Palestine for certain sins, and shall dispossess them. Thus does the writer sum up history in the form of a predictive introduction to his tale, as he looks back and begins to write down his conception of how things must have occurred in the long past.

Abram's home is among semi-nomads at a southern sanctuary (toward the Sinaitic deserts); he lies about his handsome young wife to save his own life. In a vision, the Elohim come to help him; and a certain weight of silver paid to the husband by the innocent offender is counted a satisfaction for unchastity toward a wife.

3. Abram's wife bears him a son: the Elohim fills both parents with laughter, so they name their boy Isaac, *i.e.*, "He is to laugh."

4. At the weaning feast another son, by an Egyptian concubine, laughs too joyously to please this young and jealous

[1] For translation and paragraphing followed in this analysis, see as before the present author's *Old Testament Theology*, pp. 319 to 451.

mother: The father, by the counsel of the Elohim, turns out this lad and his mother; and they nearly die of thirst: The Elohim sends a voice from the sky to guide the mother and boy to a well: The boy becomes progenitor of the Bedouin hunting tribes, the Ishmaelites.

5. The sanctuary of Beer-Sheba (Well of Seven) gets its name from a treaty made there with the aborigines and their king.

6. Abram believes that the Elohim desire and accept sacrifices of children slain and burned at a certain altar far off from Beer-Sheba, perhaps in the Shechem country. But a vision and voice from the sky at that sanctuary alter his mind, and he believes that the Elohim can and do change their desire concerning feasts with men, and will always give sufficient new directions.

7. Isaac, when grown old, is very fond of certain delicacies: Excited by them, he gives away his paternal blessings, which are sometimes, of course, of serious import: His wife Rebecca unjustly makes a favourite of her second son; she tells lies at the risk of a curse, and makes him lie to steal the paternal blessing from the elder son, the progenitor of the Edomites. Her favourite is Jacob (Dogging Supplanter), progenitor of Israel. There seem to be woven into the tale, or used as its *motif*, some fragments of old folk-lyrics.

8. It is these doings that cause the eternal jealousy and even hatred between Edom and Israel.

9. Jacob wanders as a nomad, and is pictured as seeing in a vision of the night how the Elohim send messengers to and fro between the sky and a certain sanctuary. He erects a *maççebhah* or memorial stone there, and anoints it with a libation of oil; declaring how he has thus discovered a true House of the Elohim. Here, also, is recorded the faith that tithes are due at this particular sanctuary.[1]

10. Jacob is allied in wedlock with the Laban family ("the whitefolk" or "the folk among the Lebanon-mountain regions"). He is a shepherd slave among them; but he con-

[1] This sanctuary was no doubt at or near Shechem.

trives by cleverness, which he says he owes to the Elohim, to enrich himself out of his father-in-law's property. The father-in-law grows vexed: Jacob escapes with his four wives, his daughter, and eleven sons: one wife steals her father's sacred images: the father pursues, but in a vision the Elohim work safety for Jacob: a treaty is drawn up and another *maççebhah* or sacrificial pillar is erected, and a sacred covenant-making feast is held.

11. Jacob enters the lands west of Jordan with a sense of the presence of the Elohim near him at point after point or sanctuary after sanctuary, guarding him from harm by Edom, and even showing to the man the very face of "El," *i.e.*, deity.

12. The settlement of Jacob and his clan near Shechem is described: he purchases a stretch of land for a hundred silver "*Qesitahs*": the new sanctuary on this ground is dedicated to EL-ELOHE-ISRA-EL, *i.e.*, the one deity who is the Elohim of Israel. Here is a pointed avoidance of the use of the name Yahweh where the Elohists must have been hampered by their theory that the name was not known until the Exodus.

There is an attempt at alliance by wedlock between the clan Jacob and the Shechemites. The Shechemite clan consent to practice circumcision, as Jacob's people do. Notwithstanding Jacob's agreement, his sons hate the alliance and attack the Shechemites most barbarously, killing or robbing them and enslaving their wives and children. This seems to be a picturing of Jacob's authorisation by the war-god to hold the ancient sacred SHECHEM.

13. By inspiration from the Elohim the Jacobite clan leave the scene of their barbarity, and settle at a sanctuary a little distance off, which their father had discovered in his youthful wanderings. They hold certain special purifications, especially denouncing the Elohim of all other tribes. They become a terror to all those tribes.

14. The story of certain graves of much-loved women of the tribe; and of a sacred oak and a sacred pillar which stand beside those graves: also concerning one of the clan named

Joseph, a young shepherd, who receives oracles in dreams, and whom his fellow-clansmen dislike for his openness and for his masterful ideas.

15. When he brings a message to them one day, they plot to murder him. The eldest brother, Reuben, saves him and hides him in a well. Some passing Midianite merchants find him and thievishly carry him to Egypt. The discovery of the loss of Joseph fills Reuben with agony: the brothers tell Jacob falsely that an accident has befallen him: the aged father laments sorely and long.

16. Joseph is bought by Potiphar, the chief Egyptian executioner, who is well pleased with him. But this master's wife is enamoured of him and tempts him. Foiled by his uprightness, she wickedly slanders him to her husband.

17. Certain servants of Pharaoh, who are imprisoned and are put under Joseph's charge, get from him correct interpretations of their dreams: Joseph hopes for help from this circumstance, but hopes vainly for many a day.

18. Pharaoh has a dream: Joseph is brought to interpret it: he attributes his ability to the Elohim: he interprets the king's dream, and predicts a time of plentiful crops, to be followed by a terrible famine.

19. Pharaoh appoints Joseph administrator of agriculture in view of the coming anxieties: Joseph stores up enormous quantities of grain.

20. Joseph became allied by wedlock to the Egyptian priests of *On*, "The Sun." He begets thus Manasseh and Ephraim, which tribes are thus declared by the writer to be partially of Egyptian blood although the same writer counts Ephraim the royal tribe of Israel. See below, paragraph 24.

21. Famine reigns everywhere, but Egypt is able to sell corn to all people through the wisdom of the sultan Joseph. The Hebrew brothers come also to buy: Joseph knows them, although unknown to them: he feigns severity, imprisons one, and sends the others home with hard conditions for return: he overhears Reuben's troubled mention of their sin done toward him long ago.

22. Reuben manages to meet the sultan's requirements : so they go again to Egypt : their father Jacob appeals for help to the deity SHADDAI ; while otherwise all, including Joseph, are made by our writer to speak of Elohim in general : Joseph discovers himself to his brothers with kindest expressions, attributing even their cruelty and his own enslavement to the overruling providence of the Elohim.

23. The monarch Pharaoh hears of all this and is pleased : He invites the Hebrew men and their father to come and dwell amid the best that Egypt provides ; Jacob has doubts : In visions the Elohim reveal to him the wisdom of going ; it will be a step toward national greatness ; and a return is sure. He goes ; and finds great comfort.

24. Jacob on his deathbed prophesies that the supremacy of the Ephraim tribe is the great purpose of the national Elohim. See above paragraph 20.

25. The brothers join in seeking forgiveness from Joseph, and in acknowledging him as master. He lives long and gloriously : dying he predicts a return to Palestine, and ordains that his own body be taken thither for final burial, when the nation shall return.

26. In a later generation a king of Egypt takes measures to kill all new-born male Hebrews, by orders given to the *two* midwives who suffice for the Hebrew folk, who are, therefore, not at all numerous : the plan fails ; and the king orders the Egyptians, in whose houses the Hebrews live as slaves, to kill all the Hebrew male babes.

2. The Revelation of the New Name of God.

27. A certain Levite woman conceals her new-born son for three months : Then she commits him to the Nile, but in a water-proof basket : The royal princess, while bathing, finds the child and saves it : She intrusts it to the babe's sister, who is watching. When he is grown, the princess takes him for her son, calling him " Moses."

28. The lad develops manly strength, a kind heart, patriot-

ism, and withal a masterful way. Pharaoh hears of one of his deeds—he had killed an Egyptian—and Moses must flee: He finds safety in Midian.

29. He marries there a daughter of one Jethro, and serves him as shepherd: Thus employed, he comes to a sanctuary at a "Burning Mountain" (Horeb):[1] There he hears a voice from the Elohim, and is inspired to undertake the deliverance of the Hebrew people from their slavery in the homes of the Egyptians. He is convinced that he is to lead them to this very sanctuary in HOREB.

As he communes with the Elohim concerning their character, and wonders what he shall set forth to the Hebrews, so as to win their trust, he sees that they must not be guided or influenced merely by what they have known of the Elohim, which thus far—thinks our writer—has been quite general: They must look for future manifestations of particularly divine character, power, devotion: Egypt shall yet be smitten by the hand and power of the Elohim, and bow before the Hebrews: the masters will endow with jewels the slaves whom they set free until like conquerors they are laden with spoil: The anxious Moses is cheered by the expectation of meeting his brother: There is a certain staff which Moses seizes, regarding it as a peculiarly divine rod with which he will be sure to work great signs before Pharaoh. Yet the Elohim will nerve Pharaoh for many days against freeing the people. The watchword for the future is thus given in this faith. "The name and character of our god, or 'El,' among the Elohim is to be 'Yahweh,' *i.e.*, 'He is to cause to be:' for he reveals his will in the Oracle, 'I AM TO BE WHAT I AM TO BE.'"

30. Moses's brother, Aaron, is moved to go to find Moses. They meet, embrace, and confer.

31. The brothers present themselves to Pharaoh. They announce to him that the Elohim of Israel, who is now named "Yahweh" ("He will cause to be"), requires Pharaoh to send

[1] This "burning" is perhaps the beaming of red sunlight from the granite, or it may be the playing of lightning about this storm centre. There is certainly nothing volcanic signified.

away the Hebrews. Pharaoh laughs at them, at Yahweh, and at Israel. He orders the pair to cease disturbing the Hebrews at their slave-service, and bids them be off to their own slave duty.

32. Yahweh now declares he will strike terror into Pharaoh. He sends: The First of the *Five* Wonders in Egypt.—A poisonous, blood-like state of the Nile water is attributed to Moses's waving aloft the divine rod: Pharaoh thinks nothing of it.

33. The Second Wonder.—At once the deliverer waves the rod again, and a great and destructive thunder and hail storm is sent by Yahweh: Pharaoh holds himself together in terror.

34. The Third Wonder.—Immediately again at Yahweh's inspiration the rod is stretched out and a miraculous locust-pest comes: Pharaoh's terror, or clutching firmly at his own heart, is thus caused by Yahweh.

35. The Fourth Wonder.—At another waving of the rod, darkness fills all Egyptian houses, while strangely, the Hebrew rooms in these houses have light: Yahweh keeps Pharaoh still in clutching terror.

36. The Fifth Wonder.—Another terrible scourge is to come: Moses feels sure by divine inspiration that now the Pharaoh will yield, also that the Hebrews must take spoil from the Egyptian people: The king suddenly hastens the two brothers and all their people out of the land: They spoil their old masters, who wonder at them and at their leader.

37. A route is chosen by the inspiration of Elohim: the coast is avoided, because of the Philistines: They march in fifties to the Sea of Reeds: They carry the coffin containing the remains of their brother, the late sultan Joseph, as he had desired.[1]

38. Pharaoh recovers his courage. With a troop of 600 he chases the few fugitives. Moses is suddenly inspired to great

[1] cf. Section 25, above. Thus they must have lived near the tombs of the princes. Indeed the Elohist pictures them as the domestic slaves of the Egyptian families, and as a small body marching "in fifties."

bravery. A person, or was it a cloud, or some other visible thing, a gift of the Elohim, which had been thus far in front of the caravan, moves away to the rear between them and the pursuers: The people regain confidence: A great deliverance is wrought: Many of the pursuers are drowned: The prophetess Miriam leads a band of playing women in a song over the deliverance.

3. New Teaching by Statutes.

39. Israel now receives a great Statute and a Great Judicial Decision, as it were a *Magna Charta*: But first the people are tested, whether they can trust Yahweh to give them meat and drink: He rains from the heavens something called "*Man*," of which they are to eat for forty years; and they drink water which pours from the rocks when they are struck with the wonder-rod.

40. The story of this Statute-giving, after the testing: Moses goes frequently up into the recesses and clouds of the Horeb mountain, and communes with the Elohim: He prepares the people by sexual restraints for three days: In a storm of lightnings and thunderings around the cloud-wrapped mountain, Moses and the Elohim converse in loud utterances on the heights: The thunderings are to be interpreted as ten commands, as follows:

Prelude. Yahweh of the Elohim is to be counted the saviour of the Hebrews from Egypt.
i. No other Elohim is to stand before him to obscure his face.
ii. No carvings of deities are to be worshipped: Yahweh is the EVER JEALOUS DEITY.
iii. The character-name YAHWEH is to be sacred.
iv. The day of CUTTING-OFF (Sabbath) is to be devoted to Yahweh worship.
v. Parents are to be honoured.
vi. Murder is forbidden.
vii. Theft is forbidden.
viii. Adultery is forbidden.
ix. Lying is forbidden.
x. Covetousness is forbidden.

The dreadfulness of the scene is regarded as the final "Testing" of the people.

41. Moses, his attendant Joshua (another wonder-person), and certain elders retire into the mountain: After a long stay they are about to return, bringing stone tablets engraved with the Decalogue and additional commands, which are regarded as carved by the Elohim.

42. The people grow weary of the absence of their leaders: Aaron makes a golden casting shaped like a little bull, as a symbol of the deity, Yahweh: They hold a Yahweh festival around this image.

43. The leaders returning discover all this: In anger Moses dashes the tablets to pieces: He smashes the idol and roundly reproves his brother: He retires again and prays tenderly for his wayward charge: He feels convinced that now, not Yahweh himself, but only his messenger will accompany the march and be present with the people.[1]

44. The people, in trouble at this thought, give again of their gold and valuables, as they gave to make the bull. Moses makes with these a better shrine for Yahweh, but plants it *outside* the camp, yet *near* it. Thither are to go all who would commune with Yahweh. Moses acts as priest at this shrine, aided by his young ministrant Joshua.

45. The priest and leader Moses brings to the people, as it were in lieu of the broken tablets, first a new set of ten commands, which are much the same as those which the Yahwistic school held to be the original ones, *viz.:*

i. Silver and golden images of the Elohim are forbidden.
ii. Earthen altars or altars of undressed stone are to be made at all places where Yahweh vouchsafes a theophany.
iii. In every seventh year all land is to lie fallow.

[1] This gives us in reality a beautiful record of the rise of the faith expressed in the sentence *Immanu-El.* ("With *us* there is a deity.") Isaiah's declaration of this faith was made about the time when the Elohistic story was being composed.

iv. Every seventh day is to be a day sacred to "Cutting-off"[1] (Sabbath), but used in Yahweh's worship.

v. There are to be three Yahweh festivals in the year:
   1. The Festival of Unleavened Bread (The End of the Old Year's corn supplies).
   2. The Festival of First-fruits of grain harvest.
   3. The Festival of Vintage-end.

vi. The fully blest man is to be readily generous.

vii. Every first-born son belongs to Yahweh: so too every first-born animal.

viii. Flesh of torn animals is never to be eaten as devoted to Yahweh.

ix. Sacrificial flesh is to be eaten promptly while fresh.

x. No kid is to be sacrificed in the womb of its dam.

All these are prescriptions whereby Yahweh may be duly and truly worshipped. Then, secondly, there are five promises of reward for devotion to Yahweh:

i. Yahweh will be their ally in war.

ii. Yahweh will give them food and drink.

iii. There shall be no barrenness.

iv. Yahweh will send wasps to drive out the Amorite aborigines from Canaan.[2]

v. The Israelite boundaries are to reach from the Sea of Reeds by the Philistine coast line to the Euphrates.

46. The people accept all these prescriptions and promises. They are ratified as a National Covenant at a great sacrificial festival, whereat the blood of the victims is sprinkled partly on the altar or slaying-place, as if on Yahweh himself, and partly on the people: The blood is the binding symbol of a common life pervading the people and their deity.

47. Moses's father-in-law, Jethro, brings his daughter, Zipporah, Moses's wife, and their sons, Eliezer and Gershom, to join the leader. Another sacrificial feast of brotherhood is held.

[1] This was probably the formerly worshipped female deity of Fate.

[2] All this could have value only as it concerned and implied an agricultural people already settled in Canaan.

48. The Israelite system of judges, or heads of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands,[1] is attributed to a suggestion of Jethro at this date, approved by an inspiration from Yahweh.

49. Of the singular ways of the spirit of inspiration: How Joshua fails to understand this: Miriam and Aaron fail in this also: How special personal intimacy with Yahweh is held to be Moses's exclusive privilege.[2]

50. The tribe of Amalek attack Israel: A wonder is worked by another use of the divine rod, and Amalek is beaten. To this occasion is attributed an old record to the intent that Yahweh means to destroy this tribe of Amalek utterly. An altar is erected and a feast is held at the place of the wonder.

51. How fever breaks out and is counted as a mark of Yahweh's anger against the people for their fretfulness.

52. How some Reubenites mutiny. A wondrous earthquake or landslip is wrought, and the mutineers sink in the chasm of the earth.

53. Arrived at a great sanctuary at Kadesh in the south of Palestine, where Miriam dies and is buried, the leader sends scouts into the promised land: These find a land rich in fruits, and they bring some back; but they report it to be possessed by Amalekites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, and Canaanites; and also by *Nephilim* (fallen spirits) or giants: The people complain: Moses feels moved to march back toward the Sea of Reeds: The people now complain still more: They march against the aborigines without Moses and his sacred casket of divine records, and are repulsed heavily.

54. Moses resolves to try the road due east from the great sanctuary through the Edomite land. The people sue for leave; but they are sternly refused: They march back to the south.

[1] See the story of the reign of Jehoshaphat.

[2] This is one of the *theologumena* of the theologising Elohistic school. It is probably an effort to understand the fact and importance of the existence of "prophets."

55. The caravan is attacked by swarms of poisonous serpents. Moses fashions an image of a serpent, and lifts it high with his divine rod: the wounded who see it are healed.

56. The Itinerary: From Qadhesh (the great sanctuary) they march through the steppe of Paran and Tophet to Laban (hardly "Lebanon"), to the villages: to the gold region: to the wells of the *Ya'akanim:* to Moserah, the burial place of Aaron, who is succeeded in his office beside Moses by Eleazar, his son: to Gudhgodhah: to Yatebhath: to Zared: to Arnon. An old verse of poetry is quoted touching Arnon.

The caravan ask leave of the Amorite king, Sihon, to cross his territory: They are refused, and then attacked, but Israel meets Sihon, and is victorious: They sing over this: Another old song is quoted which tells of the Amorite loss and of the dangers that threaten the Moabite worshippers of Chemosh.

The story of Balaam from Syria on the banks of the Euphrates: He is a Yahweh-worshipper, or at least he respects Yahweh: He is summoned by the sheik of Moab, Balak, to interfere on his behalf against the Israelite caravan who are so near his border: Balaam is warned by inspiration not to go to help Balak: Balak tempts him hard: Inspiration comes again, deciding him to go, but to go and speak as Yahweh would wish: After many sacrificial feasts, Balaam chants his oracle, but it is in praise and defence of Israel: Balak's earnest endeavours to alter this oracle procure only one that is more thoroughly in favour of Israel.

57. Israel falls into Venus-worship, which is put down by a bloody conflict.

58. The Gadites and the Reubenites settle east of the Jordan.

59. How Moses and the elders assemble the people in the plains of Moab and address them: The people are reminded that at Horeb they begged that no more divine commands be given in thunders from the heavens, as the Decalogue had been given: Yahweh had agreed to this and promised that henceforth all commands should be given through a human mediator's lips.

4. The Original Deuteronomic Law.

60. Now are given the supplementary commands as follows:[1]

The Judicial Decisions given in Moab.[2]

Concerning slaves:

1. A Hebrew may hold a Hebrew man as slave, but only for six years. The slave's wife and children are not to go out from the slavery if the wife was given to the slave by the master. The slave may remain too, if he prefer to do so.

2. A Hebrew slave-woman is not to be emancipated unless the master fail in due regard for her, as *e.g.*, if he have had her as wife and then wish to be rid of her, in which case she is to go free.

Concerning homicide:

1. He who slays is to be slain; but if the Elohim occasioned the death by an accident, then every altar is a safe sanctuary and protection for the slayer.

2. The parricide shall die.

3. Injury in strife, even if it be not fatal, shall be made good.

4. If quarrelling men injure a pregnant woman, causing premature delivery, the husband shall receive compensation according to adjudication.

5. The *lex talionis*, an eye for an eye, etc.

6. The slaying of a slave shall be avenged; but not if the slave live on for a few days.

7. He who injures his slave seriously shall liberate him.

[1] This work or lawbook stood originally where Deuteronomy stands now, *i.e.*, just before the story of the death of Moses. To make room for the present Deuteronomy, *i.e.*, the later version written to urge a centralisation of worship, the original version of supplementary regulations has been taken out, and has been inserted for safe-keeping, immediately after the story of the utterance of the Decalogue at Horeb. It forms much of Exodus chaps. xxi., xxii., xxiii. A few critical changes are made where the text had likely become disordered.

[2] Cf. Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, 1894, and Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*, 1892.

Injuries done to men by beasts:

1. A goring ox that kills a man or woman is to be killed: His flesh is not to be eaten: Then the owner is to be free.

2. If the owner knew the beast's disposition and was negligent, then both owner and ox shall die.

3. The injured relatives may accept redemption by money and let the owner of the ox live.

4. The redemption, for a slain son or a slain daughter, shall be settled by adjudication.

5. For a slain slave the redemption money shall be thirty silver shekels.

Injuries to cattle:

1. He whose pit causes a beast's death shall pay the value of a living beast and shall receive the dead one.

2. If a man's ox slay a neighbour's ox, each owner shall get half of each, or half of the value of both the living and the dead oxen.

3. If the ox was known to be mischievous and the master was negligent, that negligent owner shall receive the dead ox, while the other owner gets the live one.

Concerning theft:

1. He who steals a man, and sells or keeps him, shall die.

2. Theft of large cattle is to be paid back fivefold, and of small cattle fourfold.

3. The penniless thief is to be sold into slavery.

4. The thief caught in the possession of stolen cattle is to make good the injury.

5. If he be killed while being so caught, his death is not to be avenged.

6. Except that if this killing be after sunrise, then blood is to be shed for him.

Concerning arson, etc.:

1. He who ruins good fields by letting his cattle trespass shall make good the damage out of his own best possessions.

2. He who causes sheaves or standing corn and the like to be destroyed by fire, shall make it all good.

Concerning trusts:

1. The stealer of goods deposited on trust is to make good double

what he robbed. If the actual thief be not found, the trustee is to lay the case before Elohim for adjudication.

2. In all cases of intrusted and lost cattle, he whom the Elohim adjudicated to be to blame is to repay the injury twofold.

3. If cattle so intrusted be injured or lost, and the Elohim[1] adjudicate the trustee to be blameless, he shall be free.

4. If the beast has been stolen from beside the trustee, the trustee shall make it good.

5. If it has evidently only been torn of wild beasts, he shall not make it good.

6. What is borrowed and then is injured, or dies in the borrower's hands, is to be made good by the borrower.

7. If the owner was present during the injury, the borrower shall not make it good.

8. If it was hired, then the hire paid is enough.

Concerning seductions:

1. He who seduces a maid, not betrothed, shall marry her.

2. If her father refuse, then the seducer shall atone by paying a maid's full dower.

Concerning proprieties:

1. Any woman working incantations shall die.

2. Any devotee copulating with a beast shall die.

3. He who mocks his parent is to die.

4. He who worships any Elohim save Yahweh only is to die.[2]

Concerning neighbourliness:

1. Oppress not any (Gēr) sojourner among you.

2. Do not add humiliation to the widow or the orphan.

3. Do not take interest from any fellow Hebrew for lent money.

4. Return before sundown any garment taken as a pledge from a neighbour.

[1] These references to the mind of the Elohim seem to suggest reference to oracles obtained by divining with an ephod or by lot. Nor is this unlike the very practice of David, as we have it described. The writer of the story of David and the people of that writer's times trusted to such oracles.

[2] This rule seems to prove that itself, and probably others in this collection, were really laws codified or honoured long before the writing of this document and collected into this set in order to work out the theory of a Moab-legislation.

Concerning reverence:

1. Never make light of any Elohim.
2. Never curse any exalted personage of the nation.

Concerning uprightness in courts of justice:

1. Accept not a worthless report.
2. Be not a violent co-witness with a godless man.
3. Follow not the multitude into evil.
4. Follow not the multitude to turn justice aside.
5. Do not favour a great man, or even a poor man, with partiality.
6. Deliver your enemy from danger.
7. Help your enemy when he is overburdened.
8. Do not injure your enemy's suit at law.
9. Render only true evidence; that the righteous man may live, and the godless perish.
10. Never take a bribe.

61. Solemn conclusion, with added curse upon Amalek: followed by direction to gather on Mount Ebal, *i.e.*, at Shechem, for a national confirmation of these regulations by erecting there a special altar which shall bear a record of these laws written upon its sides.

62. Moses, by divine inspiration, commissions and encourages Joshua to be his successor.

63. How Moses died in Moab, a man more intimately inspired of Yahweh than any other ever was.

(Here ends the Story of the Exodus.)

5. The Story of the Settlement in Canaan.

64. By divine inspiration Joshua arranges for an invasion of the West-Jordan land: he sends spies ahead.

65. These spies turn in to a harlot in Jericho: She hides them and deceives the police concerning them: They escape and go cautiously back to Joshua.

66. By inspiration Joshua arranges a wonder: The Jordan is swollen, but the priests bearing the chest containing the divine covenant step into the swollen river's edge, and at

once the waters cease to flow, and are piled up in a heap: The people cross on the dry bed safely: Twelve chosen men take twelve stones from the river's bed and plant them on the west bank: The heap is called a Gilgal: The priests now march across and then the river rolls on again as it was wont.

67. The elder of two records (E_1) of the Fall of Jericho: at the signal of a trumpet blast all Israel give a great shout: The city walls fall: The Israelites walk in and capture everything.

The younger of the two records (E_2). Seven priests blow seven trumpets for seven consecutive days before the covenant casket: on the last of these days, the priests and two bodies of soldiers march round the city seven times: Then the priests blow and the people shout: They burn the city, saving only the harlot named above, and her relatives.

68. The siege of Ai: At first it is a disastrous failure.

69. By inspiration Joshua understands that a selfish Hebrew's stealing has made Yahweh angry, and so he has ceased to help. The leader has lots cast, to discover the culprit: One Achan is pitched upon, and he says that at Jericho he had appropriated goods which ought to have been burnt: The man and those goods are burned to pacify Yahweh.

70. By stratagem and by a wonder, the town of Ai is taken; All its men and women are butchered.

71. The people of the neighbouring town of Gibeon play a trick and get favor from Joshua and the Hebrews: At the discovery of the trick Joshua just saves the deceivers from death at the hands of the angry Hebrews by binding them to perpetual slave service for the sanctuary of Yahweh.

72. The kings of Jerusalem and Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon, attack Gibeon: Joshua comes to the rescue: A wonder of hail from Yahweh works the complete destruction of the forces of the allied enemies: Joshua cruelly butchers the five kings.

73. Jabin, king of Hazor, and three other kings, unite to attack the Hebrews, but they are defeated.

74. By inspiration Joshua marks out the land in parcels with definite boundaries for the various tribes.

75. Joshua's final charge, given in Shechem to the people, their chiefs, officers, and judges. This shows what probably stood at the beginning of the whole document; *viz.*, a statement of the faith that their ancestors once lived beyond the great river (Euphrates) and there served other Elohim besides Yahweh. Then the speech recounts the migration of the father of the Hebrew group of peoples westward to Canaan: Some of them settled later in Seir (Edom), while the tribe of Jacob went to Egypt. It tells, then, of Moses leading these away back by the Reedy Sea and the steppes to the east of Jordan, the Amorite land; further, how the Moabites annoyed them with help of Balaam, the prophet, who blessed them after all; then how Joshua, as successor of the deliverer, led them to invade West Palestine: Finally this leader, now growing aged, invites them to forsake entirely their faith in the Elohim they had in Euphrates-land and in Egypt, and to accept Yahweh, as he, Joshua, and his house are doing. The people pledge themselves to be slaves to Yahweh as their Elohim; they declare their faith that he it is, out of all the Elohim, who has done all the saving work for them. Joshua declares that Yahweh is *El-Qanna, viz.*, he is that particular individual of the Elohim whom they know as the *deity of jealousy;* they must beware of rousing him: They repeat their profession of faith.

76. Joshua draws up an agreement and a statute, erecting a stone memorial of this at the great sanctuary in Shechem, under a sacred tree. All pledge themselves to observe these provisions and then they repair to their homes. The leader dies, aged one hundred and ten years, and is buried in his own land.

77. The coffin containing the dust of Joseph is finally buried near this great sanctuary at Shechem. Eleazar, the son of Aaron, dies also and is buried in a neighbouring part of the Ephraimite mountain range.

6. The Elohistic Stories of Heroes, or Judges.

78. After these things Midianites oppress Israel. A prophet preaches that neglect of Yahweh is the explanation of this act of his providence.

79. An inspired man called Gideon hews down by night the altar of Baal-worship and the Asherah, or sacred tree, and builds a Yahweh-altar: His fellow tribesmen gather to kill him; but being defended eloquently by his father Joash, Gideon becomes honoured: Then he leads a small armed band against the Midianite forces, and guided by inspiration, he pursues the Midianite princes, who have murdered his brothers: He bids his own first-born kill them, but the lad is timid, so Gideon himself does it: He punishes severely two Israelite cities that had refused to help him.

80. Gideon refuses to become founder of an hereditary dynasty, saying, "Yahweh is to be king for us:" But he accepts a large payment in gold; and this he makes into an ephod, or robe for religious functions in his own city.

81. Gideon's son, Abimelech, gets himself elected king and slays all his brothers as a sacrifice, except one lad who escapes.

82. This lad, Jotham, is skilful in song and parable: He publishes a keen satire, against his brother Abimelech and his partisans, the *Baals* of Shechem.

83. After Abimelech has reigned three years, these *Baals* mutiny; but the king overcomes them, and puts them to a horrible death: He falls in a dishonoured way at a siege: This is regarded by the writer as a token of the vengeance of the Elohim.

84. The people worship many Elohim, Baals, Asherahs, etc., that are the deities of surrounding peoples: Then they are oppressed by the Ammonites: In their distress they hearken to a Yahweh-oracle, and return to his worship.

85. One Jephthah, a bastard and an outcast, head of certain banditti, is besought to help the Israelites of Gilead amid their sufferings under the Ammonites: He accepts the

task of commander: He vows to make an ascending offering to Yahweh of whatever shall first meet him on a successful return from his campaign: He marches out and thoroughly subdues Ammon.

86. On his return, his own daughter is the first to meet him: In great anguish to both father and daughter, the vow is fulfilled.[1]

87. Unfortunately, the tribe of Ephraim are jealous of Jephthah's single-handed success: They attack him, but are severely defeated: He holds his office for six years; then he dies.

88. A certain Ephraimite, by name Micah, a Yahweh-worshipper, has a sanctuary, an ephod and teraphs, with his son for priest. But a man from Bethlehem in Judah, who seems to have been a Levite, comes along and becomes his senior priest at a fixed salary.

89. The tribe of Dan explores in the north seeking larger territory: Micah's priest gives them a cheering Yahweh-oracle: They covet the land of Laish in the Lebanon region: They invite the priest of Micah to go with them as their priest: He steals his employer's sacred utensils and goes: His new companions drive off the pursuing Micah with violence: They push on northward and seize the coveted territory, killing all the inhabitants: They settle in Laish themselves, calling their city Dan: The stolen sacred things become the furniture of the sanctuary in Laish[2] for generations.

7. *The Elohistic Story of the Founding of the Kingdom at Mizpah.*[3]

90. A man of the *Ramahs* (High places) who worships yearly at Shiloh, where Eli's sons officiate as priests, has two

[1] This is only one of many cases of sacrifice of human life to Yahweh. The principle of the Levitical priesthood rests upon it. Jeremiah in 600 B.C. deals with the practice.

[2] This seems from its name to have been really a lion-god's sanctuary. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, p. 156.

[3] According to the Yahwistic story it was founded at *Gilgal.*

wives: The favourite one, Hannah, is childless: At the sanctuary Eli notices her praying—she is pleading with Yahweh for a son, and vowing to make him a Nazir (vow-man) for all his life: Eli thinks at first that she is intoxicated, and reproves her: Learning the facts, he predicts the fulfilment of her prayer.

91. Hannah bears Samuel: When he can be brought to Eli and left beside him, she gives him as a devotee to the sanctuary, where he acts as a priest: He is another of the Elohist's Wonder-Children.

92. Eli's sons are bringing all sacrifices to Yahweh into discredit: They will not wait for their perquisite food till the sacrificial flesh is boiled [1] but insist with violence on having the raw flesh to roast for themselves.

93. Hannah provides lovingly for her priestly son, and she bears five more children.

94. While Eli's sons wax worse, to their father's anxiety, and in spite of his reproving them,

95. Samuel begins to receive Yahweh-oracles, under Eli'-guidance: He receives them while in his bed in the sanctus ary, beside the Elohim-casket: Eli bows devoutly before the fate announced for his family.

96. All Israel come to know that Samuel is an inspired man.

97. The Philistines oppress Israel, battling against them successfully: The Israelites send to Shiloh for the Yahweh-casket, and carry it out to the battle-field: This excites them to great hopes; but it nerves the Philistines, too: They put great faith in their own Elohim, and are again victorious: They capture the casket of the Elohim: Eli's two sons are slain.

98. When the news of this is brought to Eli, it is too bitter for him: He falls, and comes to his death: Phineas's wife dies under the shock, in child-labour, giving birth to a son whom she names as she departs Ichabod ("Where is glory?").

[1] This is one proof among many that down to these days at least, the proper way to cook sacrificial flesh-food was not to *roast* it, but to *boil* it.

99. Here follows a finely-conceived picture of conflict as in the darkness of night between the two Elohim, Dagon, fish or grain god, and Yahweh. Yahweh is pictured as mutilating the wooden image of Dagon. The conflict is declared to be the origin of certain features in the customary worship of Dagon, which confirms the opinion that the scene is a poetical representation of a hoary tradition.

100. After a stay of seven months in the cities of the Philistines, the casket of Yahweh is sent back to the land of the Israelites: It is brought to the "House of the Sun," with many superstitious observances: The casket is received by the Israelites with similar superstitions: Yahweh is described as having a singularly jealous and vindictive character.

101. Another scene of confession of unfaithfulness to Yahweh is described: And now the tribe dedicate themselves to him as their sole Elohim.

102. How the Philistines invade Israelite lands again; and how Samuel cries to Yahweh, who replies by a thunder-storm: complete rout of the enemy is thus caused: So Samuel erects a *maççebah* and calls it "The Help-stone" (Ebenezer): The Israelites gain back many towns that the Philistines have seized.

103. How Samuel waxes old as judge and sacrificer, making regular official tours, and erecting places of sacrifice. But his sons, who assist and succeed him, do not maintain his high reputation for ability and integrity.

104. The people grow discontented with the system. Samuel is troubled, but soon feels divinely cheered to lead them forward to the choice of a king.

105. The election of King Saul at Mizpah: Samuel utters a solemn adjuration to king and folk as he himself retires from office: The speech resembles those of Moses and Joshua on similar farewell occasions: Yahweh supports Samuel's utterance by sending another great thunder-storm.

106. Samuel charges Saul in Yahweh's name to take vengeance on the Amalekites: Saul makes a horrible slaughter of these people, first separating the Kenites from them: He

and his followers save the Amalekite king, Agag, and certain valuable cattle: Samuel is moved with the Yahweh spirit: sorrowfully, yet sternly, he pronounces a sentence of divine deposition of King Saul and his house: The king pleads that he meant to make religious feasts for Yahweh with the cattle: Samuel utters the stern new doctrine that the exclusive devotion to be aimed at is not best expressed by religious feasts: The old man demands submission to Yahweh without questioning, which indeed means submission to the seer (the "Nabi") who is supposed to speak for the deity of Israel. This new doctrine is uttered as a counterpart to the supposed jealousy of Israel's deity toward all other Elohim.

107. The fierce old seer is a long time deaf to Saul's pathetic pleading.

108. The prophet himself hews the captive Amalekite prince to bits in a horrible way.

109. Samuel forsakes Saul finally.

110. A new attack by the Philistines. Their champion Goliath, a huge fellow with amazing weapons, defies the Israelites, and dares any of them to single combat with him: A shepherd lad called "Beloved One" (David) takes a message from home to his elder brothers, who are in the Israelite army: The boy is excited by the sight and sound of the big Philistine: In spite of the displeasure of his eldest brother, he is taken to the king and volunteers to attack this big fellow: having fought wild creatures in the pasture-lands, he has great trust in Yahweh's sure help: So David goes, hurls a sling-stone at the big man, and kills him: The Israelites now take courage, while the Philistines fear and fly: There is a great victory for the Israelites. David is another of the *Elohistic series of wonder-children*. They are: Joseph, Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David. Each had a marvellous childhood, grew up as a leader, and finished with a solemn oracular utterance to the nation.

Saul makes full inquiry about the boy and finds him to be the son of Jesse of Bethlehem: The king's son Jonathan becomes greatly attached to the lad.

111. The king grows afraid and jealous of this youth, for he seems indeed to be divinely favoured, as well as a favourite of the people: The king's daughter, Merab, is betrothed to the young man, but is given to another: Jonathan pleads powerfully in behalf of David that Saul may look more favourably and gratefully upon him: The king listens to this pleading.

There is again a Philistine war, and David wins more distinction, which rouses an evil spirit in the king: The king falls upon David murderously: David escapes to his house: The house is surrounded by a band of assassins, employed by the king: David's wife accomplishes his escape by stratagem.

112. Escaping, David comes with a band of followers, to a sanctuary at Nob: By pretending to be on royal service, he obtains food and weapons:

113. The outcome is that Saul, in anger, kills all the priests and people of that sanctuary.

114. Saul, with a troop of a few thousand soldiers, pursues David in the southern steppes: At one time the fugitive enters the king's camp in the night, when all in it are asleep: He is sorely tempted to kill Saul: He resists in faith that Yahweh manages all things duly; but he carries off the king's spear and his water-bottle: He retires to a safe point, and shouting, arouses the camp of the king: The royal guard and the king himself are filled with shame at their carelessness and at David's magnanimity: The pursuit ceases.

115. A young Amalekite reports to David how Saul has fared badly in battle, and that he, the young man himself, has put Saul to death: David executes the murderer at once.

116. David consults with a Nabi (inspired one) as to the erection of a house to contain the Yahweh-casket: The Nabi, by name Nathan, feels moved of the divine spirit to discourage this:[1] David utters an oracular prayer, giving thanks for the divine favour to his dynasty, and professing himself Yahweh's devoted slave.

[1] Of course this is just what we might expect from the Elohist who wished Shechem to be the great sanctuary and could not favour the erection of a new royal altar and temple in Jerusalem.

(Here ends abruptly what is extant of the Elohistic Document. Possibly the loss of the original continuation was due to its favouring Shechem, and condemning the erection of a royal altar in Jerusalem. The devotees of Zion, after 622 B.C. would not like such a record.)

APPENDIX III

THE OUTLINES OF THE ORIGINAL "D" DOCUMENTS[1]

A. The "Judge" or Hosea-like "D" Document.

I. The Hortatory Prelude.

Preface or Introduction. iv. 45b–xi.

Title and place of proclamation. iv. 44, 46–49.

The Elohistic Decalogue. v. 2b, 6–18 (Heb.).

The basis of the new directions. vi. 1a, 2–9.

Beware of wandering. vi. 10–13, 15.

The children to be told of grace and duty. vi. 20–25.

The children to be sheltered from wrong environment. vii. 1–4, 6, 9.

The promise of blessing, plenty and power. vii. 12b–24.

The promise of a joyful land. viii. 7–10.

Reminiscences of the past joyless journey. viii. 11a, 12–18.

Fear not the great aborigines. ix. 1–4a, 5–7b.

The sum of these exhortations is: One Yahweh is thy only true God, and has blessed thee. Therefore teach and be faithful and full of courage. Hereafter only fragments are interwoven with the other work which addresses the people as "you," and speaks of "The Elders"; whereas the former work says "thou," and speaks of "The Judges."

The sum of the further commands is: Love God and the

[1] The Deuteronomists' work is based upon *E* and is really only a new edition of that part of the same, which, as we have seen in Appendix II, paragraph 60, is now found in Exod. xxi. to xxiii.; but which stood originally where Deuteronomy stands now.

poor who are his special care. x. 12–15, 20–22. xi. 1, 10–12, 14b, 15, 19, 20.

The place of sacred establishment is to be Shechem. xi. 29f.

II. Outline of the Directions of the "Judge" Document.

We shall give this in outline and then in its full text.

1. Directing centralisation. xii. 13f, 17a, 18–20a, 21, 26f.
2. Directing tithes. xiv. 22–29 (mostly).
3. Also firstlings. xv. 19f.
4. A Paschal festival at the beginning of harvest. xvi. 1f, 4b–7.
5. A feast of "Weeks" at the end of corn-harvest. xvi. 9–12.
6. A dance-festival with booths at the end of vintage. xvi. 13–15, 17.
7. Prescribing officers, judges, and writers. xvi. 18–20a.
8. The duties of judges. xvii. 8–10.
9. The functions of "Levites." xviii. 1 part, 2, 6–8.
10. Of sanctuary for accused persons. xix. 2–10.
11. The witnesses in trials. xix. 15–21a.
12. Of a special case for trial. xiii. 2–4a, 6–18.
13. Of the conduct of a siege. xx. 10–17, 19f.
14. Of kindness to animals: The stray cattle; the stumbling beast; a bird's nest. xxii. 1–4, 6–8.
15. Of kindness to slaves, debtors and the like. *E.g.*, Of the fugitive slave; payment of interest; petty theft; necessaries of life; pledges, how to be taken and when to be returned; a hireling; personal responsibility; justice to the weak; gleanings, etc.; upright judgment; the ox on the threshing-floor. xxiii. 16f, 20, 25f. xxiv. 6, 10–22. xxv. 1–4.
16. The year of remission. xv. 1–3, 7–11.
17. The freeing of slaves. xv. 12–15, 18.
18. Liturgical Appendix. A triennial tithe. xxvi. 1f, 5–15.

This is the main body of rules, and embodies the principle of centralisation and its corollaries; therefore, it is a classic source for knowledge of the religion of this Deuteronomist. For this reason we give it in full.

III. The Text of the "Judge" Document.

This is well characterised by Steuernagel as speaking of "the Judges," but never of "the Elders"; as speaking often in short, almost oracular sentences; as directly addressing the reader by the singular "thou"; as using generally the word "brother" (אח) instead of "neighbour" (רֵעַ). Its laws concern worship, and justice, in and around the new central Sanctuary. It is based on an elder centralisation oracle.

1. Concerning centralisation of sacrificial worship. xii. 13f, 17a, 18–20a, 21, 26f.

Have a guard to thyself, lest thou send up ascending offerings in any place that thou mayest see, but rather in the place that Yahweh is going to choose in one of thy tribes. And it is there that thou art to do all that for which I am thy director.

Thou art not to be free to eat within thy gates thy corn-tithe, and wine-tithe, and oil-tithe, and thy herd's and flock's firstlings. But rather is it before Yahweh thy god that thou art to eat it, in the place which Yahweh thy god is going to make choice of: thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy slave, and thy nursemaid, and the Levite, who is within thy gates. And thou shalt have joy before Yahweh thy god in all that thy hand gives out. Have a guard to thyself lest thou forsake the Levite all thy days upon the soil.

Since Yahweh thy god may make broad thy border, according to what he hath talked of to thee; and if thou shalt say, "Do let me eat flesh," since thy soul will always desire to eat flesh; and if the place be far from thee that Yahweh thy god may choose for setting his name there: then thou shalt slaughter (religiously as a sacred feast) some of thy herd and of thy flock that Yahweh has given to thee, just as I have directed thee. Except that it is thy devoted things which thou mayest have and thy vows, that thou art to take up, and come away with unto the place that Yahweh is going to choose.

And thou art to make thine ascending offerings, the flesh and the blood, upon the sacred slaughtering place of Yahweh

thy god; and as for thy sacrificial blood, that is to be poured out upon the sacred slaughtering place of Yahweh thy god, but it is the flesh that thou art to eat.

2. Concerning tithes. xiv. 22–29, with omission of editorial additions.

With a tithing thou art surely to keep tithing all thy sowing's income, that which goes out to the field year by year.

And thou shalt eat before Yahweh thy god in the place that he is going to choose for the constant abiding of his name there, thy corn-tithe, thy wine-tithe and thy oil-tithe to the end that thou mayest learn to reverence Yahweh thy god all thy days.

And when the way shall be too far from thee, so that thou shalt not be free to take it, because the place is going to be far from thee which Yahweh thy god is going to choose for setting his name there, for Yahweh thy god is going to bless thee; then thou shalt put it in silver value, and shalt bind the silver in thy hand, and thou shalt go unto the place of which Yahweh thy god is going to make choice. And thou shalt put out the silver in all that thy heart may greatly wish, in the herd and in the flock, and in wine, and in spirits, and in all that thy heart may seek. And thou shalt eat there before Yahweh thy god and shalt rejoice, thou and thy house. And as for the Levite, who is in thy gates, thou art not to forsake him.

After the end of three years, thou art to bring out all the tithe of thy income in that year; and thou art to set it down within thy gates. And the Levite who is with thee shall come, and the sojourner and the orphan and the widow who are within thy gate; and they are to eat and to be satisfied, to the end that Yahweh thy god may bless thee in all thy handiwork that thou art going to do.

3. Of firstlings. xv. 19f.

All the first-born that may be born in thy herd and in thy flock, that is, the male kind, thou art to devote for Yahweh thy god. Thou art not to do any slave-toil with the first-born of thy ox-kind; and thou art not to shear the first-born of thy

flock. Before Yahweh thy god thou art to eat it, year by year, in the place that Yahweh is going to choose, thou and thy house.

4. Of a Paschal festival. xvi. 1f, 4b–12.

Guard the month of the green ears of the crops (the *Abib*) and make a *Paschah* for Yahweh thy god. For it was in the month of the *Abib* that Yahweh thy god brought thee out from Egypt by night. And thou shalt slaughter sacrificially a *Paschah* for Yahweh thy god, of flock and herd, in the place that Yahweh is going to choose for the constant abiding of his name there.

And there shall not remain until the morning any of the flesh that thou art to slaughter in the evening in the first day.

Thou art not to be free to slaughter sacrificially the *Paschah* in one of thy gates, which Yahweh thy god is giving to thee; but away in the place that Yahweh thy god, is going to choose for the abiding of his name. It is there thou art to sacrifice sacrificially the *Paschah* in the evening, according to the setting of the sun, that is the trysted time of thy going out from Egypt. And thou shalt thoroughly boil and then eat, in the place whereof Yahweh thy god is going to make choice. And thou shalt turn in the morning and go to thy tent.

5. Of a feast of weeks at the end of corn-harvest. xvi. 9–12.

It is a seven of sevens (*i.e.*, weeks) that thou art to reckon for thyself: it is from the letting the sickle begin in the standing corn that thou art to begin to reckon seven sevens. And thou shalt make a dance-feast-of-weeks for Yahweh thy god according to the full measure of the free gift of thy hand that thou art going to give, just according to the way in which Yahweh thy god hath blest thee. And thou art to rejoice before Yahweh thy god, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy slave, and thy nursemaid, and the Levite that is in thy gates, and the sojourner, and the orphan, and the widow that are in thy midst in the place that Yahweh thy god is going to choose for the abiding of his name there. And thou art to guard and to perform these statutes.

6. Of the dance feast of booths. xvi. 13–15, 17.

A dance-feast of "the booths" thou art to make for thyself, seven days, at thy gathering in from thy threshing floor and from thy wine-press. And thou art to rejoice in thy dance-feast, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy slave, and thy nursemaid, and the Levite, and the sojourner, and the orphan and the widow that are within thy gates. It is seven days thou art to dance for Yahweh thy god in the place which Yahweh is to choose ; for Yahweh thy god is going to bless thee in all thy income and in all thy handiwork, and thou shall be surely joyful everyone according to his hand's gift, according to the blessing of Yahweh thy god that he has given to thee.

So far, the oracles of centralisation : now follow a second set of counsels dependent on these.

7. Of officers, judges, and writers. xvi. 18–20a, a passage that has been much altered by editors.

Judges and clerks art thou to set for thyself in all thy gates, whose giver unto thee is Yahweh thy god for thy tribes (or for thy judging). And they are to judge the people with firm (righteous) judicial decision. Thou art not to look at appearances. It is righteousness in each case that thou art to pursue.

8. Of the work of the judges. xvii. 8–10.

When a thing proves too difficult, and beyond thee, for the decision assigning blood for blood, assigning judgment for judgment, and assigning blow for blow, even matters of contention in thy gates ; then thou art to rise up and go up to the place of which Yahweh thy god is to make choice, and thou art to come to the judge who may be in those days. And thou art to investigate and they are to set before thee the utterance of the decision. And thou art to act according to the very letter of the utterance that they may set before thee from that place that Yahweh is going to choose. (And thou art to take care to act according to all that they may teach thee.)

9. Of Levites. xviii. 1, 2–4, 8.

As for all the Levite tribe, it is not a land share they are to

have in the midst of their brethren, but it is Yahweh who is to be their share.

And when there shall come the Levite from one of thy gates from any part of Israel where he has been sojourning, and if he come in all the desire of his soul unto the place that Yahweh is going to choose; and when he shall keep doing sacred service in the name of Yahweh his god just like all his brethren the Levites who are standing there before Yahweh, then portion like portion they shall eat (without his selling, on account of his ancestry).

10. Of sanctuary refuges, under the centralised system. xix. 2–10.

It is three cities that thou art to set apart for thee in the midst of thy land, which Yahweh thy god is giving to thee to take possession thereof. Thou art to make the way certain for thyself, and thou art to divide in three thy stretch of land, which Yahweh thy god is going to cause thee to share, for the fleeing away safe of any slayer. And this is the plan for the slayer who is to flee thither and to live, who may cause a smiting of his neighbour unawares, he being quite without hate for the man, day after day, before: *viz.*, Whosoever shall come with his neighbour to the forest to cut trees, and his hand shall be swaying with the axe to cut the tree, and the iron shall slip from the wood and shall chance on his neighbour, and he shall die; it is that man that is to flee unto one of those cities, and to live. Otherwise an avenger of the blood would pursue after the slayer because his intent would be hot and he would catch up with him because the way would be far, and he would cause to smite a life, even although there might lack any judicial decision for death. Because this one was no hater of that one, day after day, before. On this account, it is three cities that thou art to set apart for thyself.

And if, perchance, Yahweh thy god should broaden thy border, thou art to add for thyself again three cities in addition to those cities. So there shall not be shed any innocent blood, amid thy land which Yahweh thy god is giving to thee as a share, so that there should be murder beside thee.

11. Of witnesses in courts. xix. 15–21b.

There shall not rise up one witness concerning a man, for any waywardness, or for any constant fault, in any fault wherein one may fail: it is according to the mouth of two witnesses, or according to the mouth of three witnesses, that a case is to arise.

When there shall arise a witness of violence concerning a man, to answer in his case concerning a going astray, then the two men who have the contention before Yahweh shall stand before the judges. And the judges shall inquire thoroughly; and lo, if the witness be a false witness, then thou shalt utterly burn out the mischief from thy midst: so that those who are left may hear and may reverence, and may not continue to do still according to this mischievous thing in thy midst. And thine eye is not to spare.

12. Of a case for courts. xiii. 2–4a, 6–18.

When an inspired man shall arise in thy midst, or a dreamer of a dream, and shall give to thee a sign or a marvel, and the sign shall come about and the marvel, of which he hath talked to thee, saying, "Let us go after other deities, and let us be their servants": thou art not to listen unto the utterances of that inspired one, or to the dreamer of that dream. And as for that inspired one, or the dreamer of that dream, he is to be put to death: for he has talked of defection respecting Yahweh, him who redeems thee from the house of slavery! Yea, it was to cause thee to swerve from the way that Yahweh thy god directed thee to go in. And thou shalt utterly burn out the mischief from thy midst. When thy brother[1] thy mother's son, or thy son, or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy neighbour[2] who is like thy soul, shall put upon thee in secret saying, "Let us go and let us be servants to other dei-

[1] Observe here a trace of the old Semitic way of reckoning descent *by the mother*. Cf. W. R. Smith's *Marriage and Kinship in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885.

[2] This use of רֵעַ as well as אָח has special peculiarities. Cf. Steuernagel's *Entstehung*, p. 30.

ties," whom thou hast not known, thou and thy ancestors; if it be some of the deities of the nations near to thee, or those afar from thee, from the end of the earth even to the end of the earth: then thou art not to be willing for it, and thou art not to listen unto him; and thine eye is not to have pity for him; and thou art not to be compassionate, and thou art not to keep concealing on his account. But surely slay him thou shalt: it is thy hand that is to be upon him in the first place, to cause him to die, and then the hand of all the people in succession. And thou shalt pelt him with stones, and he shall die, because he kept seeking to cause thee to swerve from beside Yahweh thy god, him who causes thee to go out from the land of Egypt, from the house of slavery. And when all Israel shall hear, then they will reverence; and they will not continue to do according to this mischievous thing in thy midst.

When thou shalt hear in one of thy cities, that Yahweh thy god is giving thee for dwelling there, saying that there have gone out men, vile scoundrels, from thy midst and they have caused the dwellers in their cities to swerve, saying, "Let us go and let us be servants of other deities": then thou shalt inquire and shalt investigate, and shalt ask carefully. And lo, if the thing be established as truth, that this disgusting thing has been done in thy midst; smite, verily smite shalt thou, the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, making *anathema* of it, and all that is in it, and even its cattle, with the edge of the sword. And as for its plunder, that shalt thou gather unto the midst of its open place; and thou art to burn the city in the fire and all its plunder, as something wholly belonging to Yahweh thy god. And it shall be a heap unto the ages; it shall not be built again. And there shall not cleave to thy hand anything from the *anathema*, to the end that Yahweh may return from the burning of his nostril (anger), and that he may give thee mercies, and may be ever merciful to thee, and may multiply thee, according to that which he was pledged for to thy fathers.

13. Concerning the siege of a city. xx. 10–17, 19f.

When thou shalt approach to a city to be at war upon it, then thou shalt cry to it "For peace!"

And it shall be that if, perchance, "Peace" be what it answer thee and if it shall open to thee; then it shall be that whatever people be found in it, they shall belong to thee as tributary, and they shall serve thee as slaves.

But if perchance it shall not make a peace with thee, and if it shall set up war with thee, then thou shalt make a siege upon it. And Yahweh thy god shall give it into thy hand, and thou shalt cause a smiting of all its males, with the edge of the sword. It is only the women and the little ones and the cattle, and all that may be in the city, namely, all its plunder, that thou shalt loot for thyself. And thou shalt eat all of the plunder of thine enemies whom Yahweh thy god shall give to thee.

Thus art thou to do to all the cities that are very far away from thee, namely, those which are not of the cities of these peoples here. Only, as for the cities of these nations which Yahweh thy god is giving to thee for a "share;" of these thou art not to let live any breathing thing: but *anathema* shalt thou surely make them, the Hittite and the Amorite, the Canaanite, the Perizzite, the Hivvite, and the Jebusite, just as Yahweh thy god has directed thee.

When thou shalt besiege a city many days, to war upon it, to take it, thou art not to cause destruction of its trees, namely, by swaying an axe upon them: for it is from them thou art to live. So that is a thing thou art not to cut off; for, are the trees of the field men, that they should run away before thee into the place of siege? Only trees which thou mayest know are not food-bearing trees, thou shalt cause to destroy and cut them down, so that thou mayest build a place of siege beside that city with which thou art making war, until it falls.

Now follows a third set of rules, namely, for humane conduct.

14. Of kindness to animals. xxii. 1–4, 6–8.

Thou art not to see thy brother's ox, or his sheep getting

driven astray and hide thyself from them. Restore, yea, restore them shalt thou to thy brother. And if, perchance, thy brother be not nigh unto thee, and if thou dost not know him, then thou shalt gather it unto thy house-court and it shall be with thee up to thy brother's seeking it, and thou shalt cause it to return to him. And so shalt thou do to his ass, and so shalt thou do for his garment, and so shalt thou do for all that is perishing of thy brother's, which may perish from him, if thou shalt find it. Thou art not to be free to hide thyself.

Thou art not to see thy brother's ass or his ox falling down in the road, and to hide thyself from them. Raise up, yea, thou shalt raise up along with him.

When there happens a little bird's nest before thee on the way, in any tree, or upon the ground, that is to say, nestlings or eggs and the mother brooding over the nestlings or over the eggs, then thou art not to take the mother actually upon her brood. Send away, yea, thou art to send away the mother, while the brood thou takest to thee, to the end that it may be pleasant for thee, and thou shalt lengthen days.

Whenever thou shalt build a new house, then thou shalt make a parapet for thy roof; so thou shalt not put bloodshed in thy house, when some falling one shall fall from it.

15. Of kindness to slaves and debtors, and the like. xxiii. 16f, 20, 25f; xxiv. 6, 10–xxv. 4.

Thou art not to send a slave away shackled to his master, if he should escape unto thee from his master. It is with thee he is to dwell in thy circle, in the place that he may choose in one of thy gates, in that which is pleasing to him: thou art not to put force upon him.

Thou art not to cause thy brother to pay interest, interest of silver, interest of food, interest of anything where one may take interest (*i.e.*, "bite off").

When thou shalt come into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou art to eat grapes according to thy mind, even thy fill, and yet into thy basket thou art not to put any. When thou comest to the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou art

to pluck ears with thy hand; but a sickle thou shalt not cause to wave over thy neighbour's[1] standing corn.

A pair of mill stones or a rider stone (upper stone of a hand-mill) shall never be a pledge: for it is a soul that one would be pledging.

When thou shalt arrange with thy neighbour[1] a loan of a load of anything, thou art not to come unto his house to pledge his pledge. It is in the lane thou art to stand, so that the man to whom thou art loaning, may bring out the pledge to thee, to the lane.

And if, perchance, he be a bowed man,[2] thou art not to lie down to sleep with his pledge. Return, yea, return shalt thou the pledge to him by the setting of the sun and he shall lie down to sleep in his own garment; and he will bless thee, whilst thou shalt have righteousness before Yahweh thy god.

Thou art not to oppress a hireling who is a bowed down man (עָנִי) and a longing one, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy sojourners who are in thy land, in thy gates. For his day thou art to give him his hire, and do not let the sun set upon him, because he is a bowed one, and it is toward this (hire) that he is straining his soul. And let him not cry to Yahweh concerning thee, for then there would be fault in thee.

Fathers are not to be caused to die on account of children, and children are not to be caused to die on account of fathers: it is each one in and for his own fault that they are to be caused to die.

Thou art not to push aside a judicial decision concerning an orphan sojourner, or to treat as a pledge the garment of a widow; and thou shalt remember that it was a slave thou wast in Egypt, and then Yahweh thy god redeemed thee thence. It is on this account that I am directing thee to do

[1] These are pointed out by Steuernagel as among the few passages where רֵעַ is used when we should expect אָח.

[2] Poor man, עָנִי cf. Rhalfs on עָנִי and עָנָו in den Psalmen. Göttingen, 1892. One without any land property, and therefore the special *protégé* of the prophets who denounce the larger oppressive landowners.—[Craig.]

this thing. When thou shalt reap thy crop in thy field, then thou art to forget a sheaf in the field; thou art not to return to take it. For the sojourner, for the orphan, and for the widow it shall be; to the end that Yahweh thy god may bless thee and all thy handiwork. When thou shalt beat thy olive tree, thou art not to pick up completely behind thee; for the sojourner, the orphan, and for the widow it shall be. When thou shalt clip thy vineyard, thou art not to keep going over what is behind thee; for the sojourner, for the orphan, and for the widow it shall be. And thou shalt remember that it was a slave thou wast in the land of Egypt. It is on this account that it is even I who am directing thee to do this thing.

When there shall be a contention between men and they be brought near to the place of judging, and they shall judge them; then they shall declare as righteous the ever-righteous man and they shall declare as bad the bad man. And it shall come to pass, if perchance the bad man be a fellow to thrash; then the judge shall throw him down and shall have him beaten in his (the judge's) presence, according to the amount of his badness. By due number of strokes, it is forty he may lay upon him; he is not to continue further, lest if he should continue to beat him further above these blows with a great beating, then thy brother would be treated as of little account before thine eyes.

Thou art not to muzzle an ox while it is threshing.

16. Of rebate allowed to debtors at the "Remission" year. xv. 1f, 7–11.

It is at the end of seven years that thou art to make a remission.

And this is the saying[1] concerning remission: Let every possessor (*baal*) of a bond remit his claim, whereby he might cause his neighbour[2] to pay interest. He is not to come upon his neighbour, or his brother, because there hath been proclaimed "A remission for Yahweh."

[1] This looks very like direct quotation of an old customary rule.

[2] See Steuernagel, p. 29.

If there should be among thee someone who is too needy for one of thy brethren, in one of thy gates in thy land that Yahweh thy god is giving thee, thou art not to let thy mind be hard, and thou art not to shut up thy hand from thy brother, the needy one. But open, yea, thou art to open thy hand to him and let him pledge, yea, thou shalt let him give a pledge, enough for the particular want in which he may have want. Have a care for thyself lest any saying which is vilely worthless have a place in thy mind, to wit, "The year of the seven, the year of remission has come near," and so thine eye be mischievous in the matter of thy needy brother, and so thou do not give to him, and then he cry out to Yahweh, and there shall be a fault in thee. Give, yea, thou art to give to him, and thy mind is not to get disturbed at thy giving to him, for it is in connection with this thing that Yahweh thy god is going to bless thee in all thy working, in every outgoing of thy hand.

For the needy one is not going to cease out of the midst of the land. It is on this account that it is I who am directing thee, saying, "Open, yea, thou art to open thy hand to thy brother, to thy bowed one, and to thy needy one in thy land."

17. Of the freeing of slaves in the "Remission" year. xv. 12–15, 18.

When thy brother, *i.e.*, the Hebrew, shall get sold to thee, then he shall serve thee six years, and when it is the seventh thou art to send him away quite freed from being with thee. And when thou shalt send him away quite free from being with thee, then thou art not to send him away empty-handed. Make, yea, thou art to make for him, as it were, a very necklace for adornment, out of thy flock and out of thy threshing floor, and out of thy wine vat. It is of that wherewith Yahweh thy god hath blessed thee that thou art to give to him. And thou art to remember that it was a slave thou wast in the land of Egypt, and then Yahweh thy god redeemed thee. It is for this reason that it is I who am directing thee with this utterance this day. Thine eye is not to be severe at thy sending him away quite free from being with thee, for to the

double of the hire of a hireling hath he served thee as a slave for six years. And Yahweh, thy God, is going to bless thee in all that thou art going to do.

IV. Liturgical Appendix. xxvi. 1 f., 4–15.

And it shall come to pass when thou comest to the land that Yahweh thy god is giving to thee as a "share," then thou shalt take possession of it and shalt dwell in it. And thou shalt take of the first of all the fruit of the soil which thou shalt fetch from thy land which Yahweh thy god is giving to thee, and thou shalt set it in the fruit-holder, and thou shalt go into the place that Yahweh thy god is going to choose for the constant abiding of his name there. And thou shalt bow and say before Yahweh thy god:

"My father was a perishing Aramaean,
So he goes down toward Egypt and sojourns there with a few folk:
So he becomes there a people great, well knit, and many.
Then it came to pass we cried in trouble unto Yahweh, our ancestral god,
And Yahweh heard our voice, and he looked upon our bowing and our weariness, and our extremity:
And Yahweh brought us out from Egypt, with firm hand, and outstretched arm, and causing great fear, and with signs and wonders;
And he caused us to come to this place,
And he gave us this land, a land trickling with milk and grape juice.
Now therefore, see, I have brought the first of the fruit of the soil that Yahweh has given me."

And thou shalt put it down before Yahweh thy god and thou shalt bow thyself down before Yahweh thy god and thou shalt rejoice in all the good that Yahweh thy god has given thee, thou and thy house and the Levite and the sojourner who is in thy midst.

When thou shalt quite finish making tithe, all the tithe, of thy income in the third year, the year of the tithing, then

thou shalt give to the Levite, to the sojourner, to the orphan, and to the widow, and they shall eat in thy gates, and shall be satisfied. And thou shalt say, before Yahweh thy god:

"I have thoroughly used up the 'devoted' material out of the house,
And likewise I have given it to the Levite and to the sojourner, to the orphan, and to the widow;
According to all thy direction that thou hast directed me.
I have not transgressed any of thy directions, and I have not forgotten.
I have not eaten any of it amid my mourning,
And I have not used up any of it amid impurity,
And I have not given any of it for one dead.
I have listened unto the voice of Yahweh my god;
I have done according to all that thou hast directed me.
O look down from thy sacred abode, from the heavens,
And bless thy people Israel, and the soil thou hast given us,
According as thou hast been pledged to our ancestors,
Even a land trickling with milk and grape-juice.

V. The Closing Portion of the Setting.

The concluding declaration. xxvi. 16–19.

One great central altar "at Shechem is prescribed." xxvii. 2, 3, 5–8.

The awful authorisations, promises, and warnings. xxviii. omitting many verses that bear strong marks of later devout annotators' hands.

Declaration that the rules given are familiar, easy to the grasp; and the final conclusion. xxx. 11–20.

B. The "Elder" Amos-like Document.

Let us now turn to the other element which we have called the "Elder" Document, and which prefers the plural "you" at least in its prefatory portion. We shall be content to treat of it more in outline, indicating briefly the set of rules which it prescribes.

The introductory portion of this must have included the Decalogue as the "Judge" did; but also most of chapter v., which describes the Horeb scene. The further portions of the introduction can be obtained by setting together what we have omitted when forming the "Judge's" introduction, or by setting together the "you" passages. Then this introduction will be found to be very largely narrative, and, moreover, it is pretty fully preserved. The whole reads fairly continuously when it is so set together. Of course the editors have retouched it, but the touches can be eliminated.

The main body of rules standing in xii.–xxvi., and belonging to this second work, is made up of four different sets, or rather, of the Fundamental Rule for Centralisation, and then of three fairly distinct little codes. We give them much as Steuernagel does.

Fundamental.

Of centralisation. xii. 1 f., 8–12.

The Elder's Rules.

Of those who deny the duty of Yahweh worship. xvii. 2–13.
Of the avenger of blood. xix. 11–13.
Of a body found dead. xxi. 1–9.
Of treatment of sons. xxi. 15–23.
Of treatment of women. xxii. 13–xxiii. 1.
Of the brother-in-law's duty to his brother's widow and the heirship. xxv. 5–10.

The Oracles of Yahweh's Disgust.

These emphasise their particular directions by adding the formula, "Because everyone doing these things is disgusting to Yahweh." They are the following passages:

Of seeking other gods. xii. 29–31. (But this is a doubtful case.)
Of tabooed foods. xiv. 3–21. (This is doubtful also.)
Of *asheras* and other pillars. xvi. 21–xvii. 1.

Of magicians. xviii. 10–12.
Of tabooed dress. xxii. 5.
Of sexual worships. xxiii. 19.
Of dissolving a marriage. xxiv. 1–4.
Of just measures. xxv. 13–16.

Military Laws and the Like.

Of courage and of equipment. xx. 1–9.
Of captive women. xxi. 10–14.
Of sanitation in camp. xxiii. 10–15.

There are very few passages in chapters v.–xxx. which are not included in one or the other of these collections. A few sentences only, or brief paragraphs, are omitted because of the present difficulty in assigning them to their proper place. Although these analyses do not by any means solve all the difficulties that arise in any effort to read Deuteronomy intelligently, yet they make this very clear, that the composers of the book made it up as a collection of heterogeneous rules, from various sources, and in a quite unsystematic way.

APPENDIX IV

OUTLINE ANALYSES OF THE ORACLES OF JEREMIAH

The following outlines are given much as they are proposed by two of the more recent studies of the Jeremiah-literature, *viz.*, those of Cornill and Duhm.

i. Nearly as Arranged by Professor Cornill in the Polychrome Bible in Hebrew.

I. Oracles written down by Baruch in 605 B.C. and then published. They are summaries and selections of Jeremiah's work from 627 to 605 B.C.

Chapters and bits in chapters i., ii., iii., at 1 and 19; iv. at 3; v., vi., iii. at 6; xi., xii. at 1 and 5; xviii., vii. at 2; viii., ix., x. at 17; xxv. at 1, 7, 15; xlvi., xlvii., xlviii. at 1, 25, 35; xlix.

II. Oracles uttered from B.C. 605 to 599 under Jehoiakim: xiv. to xvii. at 1 and 14; xii. at 7; xxxv. at 1 and 17.

III. Under Jehoiachin, B.C. 599, c. xiii.

IV. Under Zedekiah, B.C., 599–588: xxiv., xxix. at 1, 21, 31; xlix. at 34; xxii., xxiii. at 1 and 9; xxi., xx. at 14 and 7; xxxii. at 1, 6, and 24; xxxiii., xxiii. at 7 = xvi. at 14.

V. After the enslavement, B.C. 588 onward: xxx., xxxi. at 1 and 15; xlvi. at 13.

VI. A few verses whose true place is not discoverable: in cc., ii., ix., xii., xvi. and xvii.

VII. A number written down long after the death of the prophet: Verses in xix., xx., xxvi., xxxvi., xlv., xxviii., xxvii., li., xxxiv., xxxvii., xxxviii., xxxix., xl., xli., xlii., xliii., xliv.

VIII. Four brief passages not from Jeremiah's pen.

ii. As set forth by Professor B. Duhm in his Kurzen Hand-Kommentar, Published by Mohr, Tübingen, 1901. *Duhm counts as really Jeremiah's own only some sixty short lyrical oracles:*

E.g., I. Of his anathoth days: (1) A few verses at c. ii. 2 f. and 14 onward; at c. iii. 1, 12 and 19; and at c. iv. 1. (2) Later than those, but earlier than 606 B.C., verses in c. xxxi. at 2 and 15. (3) Songs concerning Scythia, verses in c. iv. at 5, 11, 19, 23, 29.

II. From his Jerusalem times: (1) Under Josiah, verses in c. v. at 1 onward; in c. vi. at 1 onward; in c. vii. at 28; in c. viii. at v. 4 onward; in c. ix. at 1 onward; and c. x. at 19. (2) Under Jehoahaz; in c. xii. at 10. (3) Under Jehoiakim; in c. xxii., again at 13 and 18; in xi. at 15, and xii. at 7; and in c. xiii. at v. 15 onward. (4) Under Jehoiachin; c. xxii. at 24 and 28.

III. A series of uncertain date, but probably from the prophet's later years; in c. xiv. at 2; in c. xv. at 5; xvi. at 5; xviii. at 13; xxiii. at 9 and 13; in c. xi. at 18; c. xv. at 10; xvii. at 9; c. xviii. at 18; xx. at 7 and 14; xiv. at 17; and xvii. at 1.

IV. Then there is a large Biography by Jeremiah's amanuensis Baruch; also many late additions.

INDEX

Aaron, 248, 251, 253, 254
Abiathar, 238, 241
Abiezrite, 233
Abigail, 238
Abihu, 227
Abimelech, 35, 261
Abimelek, 235
Abner, 35, 240
Abram, 220, 243, 244
Ab-Ram, 243
Abraham, 29, 35, 36, 220, 221
Absalom, 242
Acco, 233
Achan, 259
Adam, 34
Adham, 219
Adonijah, 242
Adonis, 97 n.
Æschylus, 217
Africa, 3, 87
Africans, 126
Agaz, 230, 265
Ahab, 42, 66
Ahaz, 42, 59, 85, 93, 94, 95, 104; refused to ask a sign, 94; refused to go against Assyria, 60, 93; his reign and policy, 81, 83, 84, 90; his death, 83, 100
Ahimelek, 238
Ahinoam, 238
Ai, 232, 259
Airy, Mr., 41 n.
Alexander, 187
Amalek, 253, 258
Amalekites, 230, 232, 239, 253, 264, 265, 266
Amaziah, 51
American Indians, 14
Ammon, 221, 262
Ammonites, 235, 241, 242, 261
Amnon, 242
Amon, 155
Amorites, 229, 233, 243, 252, 253, 254, 260, 277
Amos, 11, 30, 31, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 70, 81, 89, 112, 127, 146, 163; his preaching, 39, 45, 53, 144; the man, 39, 40; his time, 40; his correct style, 44; his picture of the neighbouring nations, 45; his picture of Israel, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53; sees and condemns in Samaria, 115, 116; his ideal is goodness, 118, 119, 127, 128
Amos-like document, 283
Anaq, 229
Anath, 233
Anathoth, 170
Animal *clans*, 14, 25, 67
"Anointed," the, how interpreted, 176, 208
Anthropomorphism, 28
Apocalyptists, 131
Arabah, 238
Arabia, 1, 88, 102; its monasteries, 156; its steppes, 220
Arabs, 177, 187, 200
Arad, 229
Aram, 32, 221, 241
Aramæan, 221, 282

Ark of the Hebrews, 31
Armageddon, 168
Arnon, 254
Ashdod, 85, 102
Asher, 223, 231, 233
Asherah, 157, 159, 261
Ashur, the god, 157, 159
Asia, 3, 87
Asia Minor, 2
Assurbanipal, 151, 154, 165; importance of his work, 151, 152; his library of tablets, 151
Assyria, 1, 40, 42, 43, 54, 55, 58, 60, 70, 73, 84, 92, 93, 98, 99, 102, 105, 108, 118, 126, 140, 152, 167; was used by Yahweh to save Israel, 82, 126, 127; fell before the Scythians, 150, 152, 161; its influence on Judah, 154
Assyrian MSS., 40, 41; records, 55; very ancient, 40; exile, 75
Assyrian Emperor, 100
Assyrians, 59
Asur-dan III., 42, 43
Asur-nirari, 42
Athaliah, Queen, 42
Azariah, 59; an aged sheik, 80
Azrijahu, 58

Baal, Baalim, 20, 157, 203; as related to Yahweh, 65, 67, 68, 123–129
Ba'al deities, 169
Ba'alah of Judah, 31
Ba'als, 124, 125
Baals of Shechem, 261
Baal-worship, 157, 159, 261
Baalbec, 234
Babel, 220
Babylon, 42, 88, 150, 153, 168, 171, 173, 181, 186, 195, 204, 206, 209, 214, 218
Babylonia, revolt in, 83, 86
Babylonian Empire, 171
Babylonians, 167, 206
Balaam, 35, 36, 229, 254, 260; goes to curse the Hebrews, 229, 230, 254, 260
Balak, 254
Bamoth, 229
Baruch, 179n, 286, 287
Bashan, 89
Battersby, 137
Bedouin, 244
Beersheba, 4, 48, 53, 221, 244
Ben-Beeri, 61
Benjamin, 222, 223, 230, 233, 235
Benjaminites, 24, 35, 235, 242
Ben-Remal-Yah, 59
Beth-Anath, 233
Bethel, 48, 50, 71, 116, 222, 233; its sanctuary, 222, 232, 233
Bethlehem, 262, 265
Bezek, 35
Bichri, 242
Bildad, 189
Bleek, 133 n.
Book of Jasher, 16 n.
Book of the Revelation, 168
Books of Discipline, 146
Buddha, 217

Cain, 35
Canaan, 1, 35, 36, 97, 201, 203, 208, 215, 223, 229, 230, 231 n., 232, 252, 260
Canaanites, 234, 253, 277
Caleb, "dog," 14, 36
Calebite, 238
Caphtor, 126
Carchemish, 168
Carmel, 238
Carpenter, 137
Central Arabia, centre of population, 1
Ceremonialism is bad, 85, 112, 113; not favored by Deuteronomists, 146

Chant of the Outstretched Arm, 92
Chemosh, 254
Chesedh, 120, 128
Cheyne, Professor, 118, 170, 196, 197, 200
China, 217
Chōq, 178
Chronicles, the books of, 214, 215
Circumcision, 7, 231
"Comfort Poem" 195, 198; its ideas concerning God, 198
Confucius, 217
Conscience the voice of Yahweh, and related to will, 113, 114
Cornill, 284
Covenant confirmed with a feast, 12, 13; favourite idea with Hosea, 68
Cretans, 241
Crœsus, 206
Cursing, 15
Cyprus, 103 n.
Cyrus, 204, 205, 208

DAGON, 263
Damascus, 3, 43, 55, 82, 97; fell before the Assyrians, 60, 97
Dan. 52, 223, 231, 233, 234, 262; a sanctuary, 234
Danites, 233
David, 2, 17, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31, 35, 36, 37, 42, 126, 237, 265, 266; caused the ark to be brought up, 31; favourite of Yahweh, 16, 17; his conquests, 32, 33; made king, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242; his census taking, 241
Davidic dynasty, 17, 30, 33, 235; the kingdom, 23, 25, 26
Day of Judgment, 50
Day, Yahweh's, 50
Dead Sea, 231
Decalogue, 131, 145, 175, 251, 254, 255 n., 268, 284
Declaration of agreement and instructions, 227
Delilah, 234
Deuteronomic document, 68, 84, 141, 152, 156; does not mention Hezekiah, 85; reformation, 133, 140, 164, 171; idea, 140, 146, 147, 149, 152, 153, 191; theology, 143–145; ethics, 145, 146; school, 148, 160, 176; faith, 167, 171; plan, 170, 215; covenant, 170; the finding of the MS., 156; its identification, 158, 159, 160; came to a moral need, 143–148; came as an amendment, 146
Deuteronomists, 132, 133, 135–42, 155, 180; sought moral ends, 143; their progress, 144; their "second laws," 146; their theology and ethics, 146, 147, 148, 152, 153, 180
Deuteronomy, question of its authorship, 135, 136, 137, 156–160, 178, 255 n., 268, 285; as ascribed to Moses, 135; its date, 140; found, 158, 159, 160; "the Charter of the Reformation" of Josiah, 160, 168, 178, 179; the problem and its clew, 136–142
Documents of the Hebrews analyzed, 22 sq.; Yahwistic literature, 24 sq.
Doeg, 238
Dor, 239
Driver, 133 n.
Duhm, 188 n., 196, 200, 286, 287

EARLY Hebrew life, 1-21
Early narrative literature, 22–33
Ebal, 258
Eben-ezer, 264
Eclipse, the great, 42, 52
Editors and editing, 176

Edom, 32, 75, 88, 177, 221, 222, 244, 245, 260
Edomite, 238, 253
Edomites, 200, 222
Edomite sheiks, 222
Eglon, 233, 259
Egypt, 1, 6, 7, 47, 75, 101, 105, 150, 165, 166, 168, 171, 222, 223, 225, 227, 246, 247, 248, 260, 279, 281, 282; the plagues in, 67, 224, 225, 249; danger of its friendships, 85; succeeded Assyria, 152
Egyptian court, 55
Egyptian party, 58, 101, 104, 105
Egyptian slavery, 74, 75; misery, 76
Egyptians, 6, 7, 59, 126, 220, 222, 226, 248
Ehud, 233
Eighth century, coincidences in, 43
Ekron, 86, 87
"Elder" document, 283
"Elders" in the Hexateuch, 138, 139, 140, 146, 160, 268, 283
El, 248
El-Elohe-Isra-El, 245
Eleazar, 254
Eli, 262, 263
Eliezer, 252, 260
Elijah, 42, 83
Eliphaz, 189
Elisha, 42, 56, 66, 83
Elohim, 144, 200, 236 n., 243–266; revelation of the name, 247; casket, 263
Elohistic narrative, 15, 76 n., 243–266; school, 130, 133 n., 136, 142, 148, 160; document discovered by Hupfield, 130, 266; analysis of the narrative, 243–266; series of wonder children, 263, 265
Elohists, 34, 76, 131, 132, 155, 245; their language, 76; how related to the Yahwists, 131–134; Deuteronomists, 132, 155; exalted Shechem sanctuary, 133; sought moral ends, 143
El Qanna, 144, 227, 260
Eltekeh, 42, 87
Encyclopedia Biblica, 137
Ephods, 69
Ephraim, 54, 59, 80, 223, 232, 235, 246, 260, 261; its fruitfulness, 80
Ephraimites, 233, 235
Ephrath, 222
Eponym Canon, 103
Esarhaddon, 151, 154
Esau, 35
Ethics of the Yahwistic school, 34
Ethiopian dynasty, 86
Euphrates, 1, 3, 83, 168, 220, 252, 260
Euphrates-land, 260
Europe, 3
Eve, 34
Ewald, 133 n.
Exodus, 64, 144, 245
Ezra, 214, 215, 217
Ezra-Nehemiah, 217
Ezekiel, 165, 172, 186, 187, 190, 200; his answer to the exilic problem, 191–195; his character, 192
Exile, its problems, 181–184; its history, 181–184; if a judgment on wrong doing, 183, 203, 204; the suffering in, 191
Exilic literature, 186–187; problem and answers to, 188, 189, 190; answer of the Book of Job, 188; answer of the Holiness Law, 189–191; answer of Ezekiel 191–195; answer in Isaiah's Comfort Poem, 195

FEAST of flesh for the clan, 179
Feast of the Spring-time, 226
Festal worship, corruptions in, 44

Gad, 223, 230, 231, 241
Gadites, 254
Gath, 238, 239
Gaza, 83
Gemara, 146
Genesis, Book of, 176, 178
Geraite, 233
Gershom, 252
Gezerites, 239
Gibeah, 73, 235
Gibeon, 259
Gibeonites, 241
Gideon, 35, 233, 234, 261
Gilboa, 239
Gilead, 71, 221, 262
Gileadites, 56
Gilgal, 48, 50, 73, 231, 233, 235, 258; its temple, 48; a sanctuary, 73, 231; a place of note, 73; story of the kingdom, 235
God the Unseen, 19, 123, 177; had material offerings, 19; had a moral relationship, 19, 20; tribal theory of, 123–129; as one only, 127; heightens the idea of sin, 210
Golden calf, 72
Goliath, 265
Gomorrah, 220
Goodness favoured by Yahweh, 50, 113, 120, 121, 122; as seen by the prophets, 127, 128
Goshen, 2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 17, 20, 222, 224, 225
Greece, 217
Greek Olympiads, 41
Greeks, the, 41
Gudhgodhah, 254

Habakkuk, 5, 182; purpose of his book, 175; believes in Yahweh and honesty, 174, 175, 177; his Psalm, 176
Haggai, 315
Hal, Hallel, Hallelu-Yah, 12
Hamath, 58
Hananiah, 185
Hannah, 263
Hawah, 11
Hazor, 259
Healing by music, 18, 20
Hebraism, its reformation, 150, 180
Hebrew, a, 223
Hebrew monarchy, 16, 20, 24, 25, 26
Hebrew prince, 223
Hebrew story, 223
Hebrew text of the Scriptures, 166
Hebrews, "migrators," 1, 2, 13, 149, 200, 201, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 239, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 259; their position among neighbours, 346; in Egypt, 6–8, 35, 224; as nomads, 8–15; at Sinai, 9, 31, 32; their settlement, 16–18; their religion and morals, 19, 104, 126, 149, 178, 221; their relation to Yahweh, 12, 25, 28, 29, 119, 126, 220; elevation of their moral conception, 25, 26, 27, 32, 213; the religious ideas anthropomorphic, 28; their ideas widened, 31, 149, 178; did not live by sacrificial religion, 71; spiritual result of unfaithfulness to Yahweh, 72; their conscience was the voice of Yahweh, 113, 114, 115; Yahweh proposed to restore the Hebrews, 203; their hope, 296; their faith in the Unseen, 177, 183; advance in their moral ideas, 178; their return from exile, 214; in Goshen, 4; at Sinai, 224–231
Hebron, 2, 229, 232, 240
Herodotus, 152

Hexateuch, 137
Hezekiah, 42, 84, 85, 100, 101, 103, 140, 154; succeeded his father Ahaz, 84; traditional view of him improbable, 84, 85; his political policy, 85, 86, 87, 154; keeper of Padi in Jerusalem, 86; if under Isaiah's influence, 101, 154; his reformation, 140; his death, 154
Hilkiah, 135, 136, 156, 163
Hiram of Tyre, 55
Hittites, 2, 232, 277
Hivvite, 277
Hobab, 232
Holiness law, 189, 191; its answer to exilic problem, 189–191
Home luxury, 88, 89
Homeric epic, 16
Horeb, 9, 145, 170, 248, 254, 255 n., 284
Hosea, 42, 43, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 82, 83, 89, 99, 107, 112, 126, 139, 140, 142, 198, 203; his prophecies, 54; a courtier, 55; the contemporary kings, 54, 55, 61; his names, 61; perhaps both prince and prophet, 61, 62, 63; his high character, 61; his imprisonment and death, 62, 63; his prophecies difficult to analyse, 63; teaching of his unfaithful wife, 67, 68; his view of Yahweh, 68, 69; his regard for instruments of worship, 69; as a theologian, 72, 144, 203; turns history into a sermon, 76 n., 115; changes his denunciations to words of comfort, 77, 78; sees and condemns, 115; his ideal of love and faithfulness, 119, 120, 121, 128, 203
Hoseah, 30
Hupfield, 130
Iashar, 25, 232
Ibhrim, 233, 243
Ichabod, 263
Immanu-el, 95, 169, 251 n.
India, 217
Inundation (flood), 220 n.
Isaac, 35, 221, 243
Isaiah, 30, 42, 53, 81, 82, 83, 84–109, 112, 120, 121, 122, 125, 131, 162, 198, 202, 218; prophet and statesman, 79 sq.; story of his statesmanship, 74; his vision of Yahweh, 80, 81; sent as a preacher, 81; his sudden end, 88, 103; substance of his sermons, 88–109; his picture of his time, 88, 89, 90, 116–118; his theology, 90, 98, 99, 107, 128; distrusted Ahaz, 90; his "Song of the Vineyard," 90; his dependence upon Yahweh, 93, 94, 95; his promised sign, 95, 97; sees and condemns, 116; troubled at the sight of his own uncleanness, 117, 118; his ideal of justice and righteousness, 120, 121; as related to Jeremiah, 169; the deutero-Isaiah, 176; part of the work for the exiles, 187; his "Comfort Poem," 195; not always correct in his forecasts, 95, 97, 98, 99
Isaiah-singers, 214
Israel, 3, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 66, 79, 81, 93, 120, 121, 126, 139, 155, 208, 222, 229, 230, 231, 234, 239, 244, 248, 254, 261, 263; as a kingdom was closed by Sargon, 82, 149; lost by disobedience to Yahweh, 125
Israelite part, 242
Israelites, 45
Ishai, 237
Ish-Baal, 240
Ishmael, 222

Ishmaelites, 200
Issachar, 223, 231

Jabesh, Gilead, 240
Jabin, 259
Jacob, 35, 222, 223, 245, 246, 247, 260
Jacob, "supplanter," "lier-in-wait," 3, 221, 244
Jacobite, 245
Japheth, 37
Jared, 71
Jarmuth, 259
Jebusites, 232, 253, 277
Jeconiah, 165, 166, 173
Jehoahaz, 165, 166, 168, 287
Jehoiachin, 165, 167, 286, 287
Jehoiakim, 165, 166, 287
Jehoshaphat, 253 n.
Jehu, 42, 56, 66
Jephthah, 261, 262
Jeremiah, 11, 131, 139, 150, 159, 168, 170, 171, 172, 175, 179 n., 180, 184, 185, 187, 191, 213, 215, 286; his theology and ethics, 164–174, 198; the "weeping prophet," 164; as a personality, 164, 168; chronology of his book, 165; his text in much disorder, 166–174; date of his preaching, 165, 183; was inspired by Yahweh to preach, 169, 174
Jericho, 258, 259
Jeroboam, 42
Jeroboam II., 39, 42, 43, 51, 53, 55, 56; the intrigues of his reign, 55
Jerubbaal, 234
Jerusalem, 31, 42, 43, 45, 51, 79, 85, 90, 93, 162, 202, 217 n., 232, 240, 241, 266, 267, 287; its position, 79, 100; ruin impending, 106; its morals, 107; fell before Nebuchadnezzar, 165
Jeshurun, 231
Jesse, 265
Jesus, 205 n., 213
Jethro, 248, 252, 253
Jews or Judahites, 173, 186
Jezreel, 66, 238
Joab, 35, 240, 241, 242
Joash, 261
Job, book of, 186, 188; its answer to the exilic problem, 188–189
Jonathan, 37, 236, 237, 265, 266
Jordan, 3, 13, 56, 229, 238, 258, 260
Jordan, East, 56, 59, 222, 223, 230, 233, 236, 254, 260
Jordan, West, 230, 231, 245, 258
Joseph, 7, 29, 35, 36, 222, 223, 230, 232, 246, 249, 260, 265; his ideal character, 36, 246; his blessing as a tribe, 230; in Egypt, 246, 247
Josephites, 233
Joshua, 15, 35, 231, 232, 251, 253, 258, 265; succeeded Moses, 258; led the Hebrews, 258–260
Josiah, 68, 84, 131, 133, 135, 136, 139, 152, 153, 167, 193, 287
Josiah, his reformation, 154–160, 167, 183; his minority, 165, 167; opposed Pharaoh-Necho, 165; his reign, 166; his confidence in heaven, 168, 170
Jotham, 42, 58, 59, 81, 261; father of Ahaz, 81
Judah, 35, 36, 39, 41, 43, 45, 52, 58, 59, 68, 79, 89, 100, 102, 108, 109, 118, 126, 141, 162, 173, 177, 215, 222, 223, 230, 232, 239, 240, 262; its position, 79, 82, 83; daughter of Yahweh, 87; its petty sheik, 152; revolted from Babylon, 165; call to submit to Babylon, 173
Judahites, 173, 232, 242
Judaism, 180
Judea, 166

Judge, Judges, mentioned in the Hexateuch, 138, 139, 160, 268, 270, 284
"Judge," author, 140, 284; Elohistic, 142, 148, 160; as related to Hosea and Isaiah, 140, 142–160
Judge document, 268, 269, 270
Judges, book of, 25, 176
Judicial government, 19

KADESH, 229, 253
Kadesh-Barnea, 5
Kaleb (dog), 229, 232
Kenezite, 232
Kenites, 232, 264
Khorsabad, inscription, 102 n.
Kings, book of, 176
Kir, 126
Kiryatharba, 232
Kittel, Professor, 79, 133 n.
Knowledge of good and evil, 28, 34
Korah, 229
Kosters, Professor, 217 n.
Kroob, 32
Kroobs, 10
Kuyunjik, 151

LABAN, 35, 221, 244, 254
Lachish, 259
Laish, 262
Law-time of Hebrew history, 178
"Laws for Humane Conduct," 138
Lebanon, 47, 88, 231, 244, 254, 262
Lebanons, 3
Leshem, 233
Levi, 35, 144, 222, 223, 230
Levi-clan, 228
Levite, 235, 262, 270, 271, 274, 282, 283
Levitical school, 176
Leviticus, 191
Lewi, 6, 8
Lewiim "Levites," 8, 13; associated with Moses, 13, 14
Libations of wine and oil, 12
Lo-Ammi, 66
Lo-Ruhamah, 66
Lot, 35, 220; the daughter of, 35
Lust-worship, 157
Luz, 232
Luzites, 232
Lydia, 206

Maccabahs, 69, 244, 245
Machir, 232
Machirites, 230
Maher-shalal-hash-baz, 96
Malachi, 178, 215, 216
Manasseh, son of Joseph, 230, 232, 233
Manasseh, 110, 154, 155; his reign, 154, 155
Manoah, 234
Mashich, 238
Mattan, 229
Medes, 167
Media, 165
Mediterranean, 3, 39
Medo-Persia, 150, 152, 204, 206
Megiddo, 152, 168
Menahem, 42, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 66; paid a thousand talents, 54, 56; was called "ben-Gadi," 56; his usurpation and reign, 56, 59
Merab, 266
Merib-Baal, 241
Merodach-baladan, 83, 86; ruled in Babylonia, 83; was opposed by Sayon, 86
Messiah, the name, 305 n.; as applied to Jesus, 305 n.
Micah, 42, 109, 131; outline of his preaching, 109, 110; his ethical ideal, 122, 202
Micah, an Ephraimite, 262
Micah-song, 181

Michal, 238
Michmash, 236
Miçraim-Egypt, 61 n.
Midian, 224, 226, 228, 229, 248; priest of, 224, 226, 228, 248
Midianite, 233, 261
Minieh, 1
Miriam, 250, 253
Mishnah, 146
Mizpah, a sanctuary, 70, 221, 262; the founding of the kingdom, 262
Moab, 102, 135, 145, 158, 221, 229, 233, 237, 254, 255
Moabite, 254
Moabite Valley, 229
Moabites, 233, 254, 260
Mohammed's Islamic doctrine of fate, 65 n., 170
Moore, 137
Moral need calling for reformation, 143; questions of moral government, 183, 184, 187
Morality and theology arose together, 19, 20, 21, 34
Moserah, 254
Moses, 29, 30, 36, 224, 225, 226, 227, 231, 258, 265; Moses in the desert of Sinai, 6, 8, 224, 227, 228, 229; leader of the Hebrews, 8, 14, 36, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 249, 250; as pictured by the Yahwist, 36; described as a prophet by Hosea, 76 n.; "the Lawgiver," 112; prophet and preacher, 112, 144, 158, 227; said to have been Deuteronomist, 135; in Egypt, 224, 225; his Moab utterances, 135; proclaims The Name Yahweh, 227; his Elohistic history, 247-258; gives the Statutes, 250; in the mountain, 251; his death, 258
Moses's Blessing, 230
Moses-Torah, 131
Muçri, 61, 62, 83
Muçur, 61, 71

NAAMAN, 97
Nabal, 14, 238
Nabi, 265, 266
Nabopolassar, 165
Nabuna'id, 205
Nachah-el, 229
Nachash, 14, 219, 224
Nachlolim, 233
Nadab, 227
Nahum, 150, 161, 162, 165; herald of Josiah's reformation, 161, 163; his idea regarding Yahweh, 160, 161, 162; date of his preaching, 165
Naphtali, 223, 231, 233
Nathan, 266
Nazarites, or vow-pledged men, 112
Nazir, 263
Nebuchadnezzar, 165, 174, 181, 184
Neghebh-land, 229
Nehemiah, 215, 217; his position and character, 215
Nephilim, 253
Niebuhr, 1
Nile, 6, 168, 174, 224, 249
Nile, Upper, 61
Nineveh, 43, 62, 63, 150, 154, 165, 167; date of its destruction, 165
Nob, 238, 266
Nomad-life not suited to the Hebrews, 13
Nomads, their trend, 13
Nun, 14

OBADIAH, 177
Olympiads, 41
Omri, 42
Orders of Ezekiel, 146

Padi, 86, 87
Palestine, 1, 13, 16, 32, 55, 60, 84, 88, 104, 150, 243, 247, 260
Paran, 254
Pasch (passover), 225
Paschah, 272
Passover, 7, 157; established, 157
Pekah, 42, 59, 60
Pekah-ben-Remal-Yah, 59
Pekahiah, 42, 59; his short reign, 59
Peor, 231
Peor, Baal of, 73
Perizzite, 277
Persia, 217
Pharaoh, 7, 35, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 246, 249; friend of Joseph, 246, 247
Pharaoh-Necho, 152, 165, 167, 168
Philistia, 42, 48, 83, 84, 100, 101
Philistine, 47, 229, 234, 238, 252, 265
Philistines, 4, 15, 126, 221, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 263
Phineas, 263
Phœnicia, 82
Piru, 62 n.
Pithom, 224
Plagues in Egypt, 224, 225
Plato, 218
Population, estimated, of Israel, 57
Potiphar, 246; his wife and her intrigues, 246
Priestly school, 146, 176
Prometheus Vinctus, 218
Prophets as moral teachers, 111–115; their tone of teaching, 111, 112, 113; condemn ceremonialism, 113; condemn sin and all evil, 113, 114; their ethics, 115–118; their ideals, 118–122; their theology proper, 123
Prophets of Goodness, 37
Psalmists, 131
Pul, 54
Qadesh, 224, 254
Qadhosh, 128
Qedar, 102
Qeilah, 238
Qesitahs, 245
Qitronim, 233
Qobolam, 55
Qodesh, 125, 128
Raamses, 224
Ramahs, 262
Rammannirari III., 43
Raphia, 42, 83
Rebecca, 35, 244
Red Sea, 1
Reeds, sea of, 226
Reedy Sea, 226, 260
Rehoboam, 42
Remission Year, 281
Return from the exile, the, 214
Reuben, 35, 222, 223, 230, 246, 247
Reubenites, 253, 254
Rezin of Damascus, 55
Romans, the, 41
Rome, A. U. C., 42
Russia, 152
Sabako, 61 n.
Sabbath, 250, 252
Sacred feasts to the gods, 3, 9, 12, 19, 25, 58, 72, 80, 123; pillars, 10, 31, 69; slabs, 170
Sacrifice, its origin and idea, 12, 19, 25, 71, 226; to Yahweh, 12; form of imperfect life, 71; to devils and not to Yahweh, 76; sometimes useless, 108; as hated by Isaiah, 108; in Egypt, 225; at coronation, 235; human, 262 n.
Salt Sea, 221
Samaria, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 55, 56, 57, 82, 83, 89, 97, 98, 105, 115, 124, 140; fall of, 42, 98, 109, 110; siege of, 42

Samson, 35, 234; his history, 234
Samuel, 17, 73, 83, 172, 235, 263, 264, 265
Samuel, books of, 176
Sanctuaries, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 31, 39, 50, 53, 57, 70, 73, 100, 104, 230, 270, 274; at Shechem, 220, 222, 244, 245, 283; at Beersheba, 221; at Mizpah, 70, 221; at Bethel, 222, 232, 233; at Sinai, 224, 226; at Kadesh, 229; at Gilgal, 231, 233-273; at Dan, 234, 262; at Nob, 238; at Jerusalem, 240, 241; at Laish, 262; at Tabor and Shittim, 70
Sarah, 221
Sarai, 220
Sardanapalus, 151
Sargon II., 42, 62 n., 102, 103, 130; succeeded Shalmanezer IV., 62, 82; his devastation of Israel, 63; the emperor, 83; his conquests, 83, 85, 86, 98, 101, 102, 103; his death, 103
Satan, 229, 239
Saul, 35, 73, 230, 235, 241, 264; made king, 235, 236, 237, 238, 264, 265, 266; his defeat and death, 239, 240, 266
Scythia, 287
Scythians, 165, 170
Sea of Reeds, 252, 253
Seir, 222, 260
Semitic, 176, 179; religions, 179; faith and its teaching, 179, 180, 203
Senah (Sinai), 5, 230
Sene (thornbush), 5
Sennacherib, Emperor of Babylonia, 86, 151, 154; was met by Egyptian intrigues, 86, 87; overran Palestine and Jerusalem, 87, 108, 154; succeeded Sargon, 103; marched away from Jerusalem, 108
Septuagint version, 166, 167
Serpent (Nahash), 34
Settlement of the Hebrews, 16-18
Shaddai, 223
Shallum, 42, 55, 165
Shalmanezer II., 42
Shalmanezer III., 42, 43
Shalmanezer IV., 42, 61, 62, 82, 97
Shear-Jashub, 93
Sheba, 242
Shechem, 2, 116, 130, 140, 141, 220, 222, 234, 244, 245, 258, 260, 266, 37; an important centre, 4, 71, 130, 131; northern sanctuary, 130, 133, 139, 145, 222, 244 n., 245
Shechemites, 245
Shem, 37, 220
Sheol, 91, 119, 229
Shiloh, 235, 262, 263
Shittim (sanctuary), 70
Shrine or sacred casket, 10, 31, 32, 116
Shur-steppe, 226
Sib'e the *tartan* of *Pir'u*, 62 n.
Sidon, 233
Sihon, 254
Simeon, 35, 222, 223, 230
Simeonites, 232
Sin, its hideousness, 210
Sin, 5
Sin, the Babylonian Moongod, 5 n.
Sinai, 5, 9, 12, 14, 31, 170, 176, 224, 228
Sinai, Mountain of, 226; Mountains of, 224; deserts of, 243
Siout, 1
Skuthoi, 152
Slave-Lyrics, the Four, 207
Slave Songs, the Four, 218
Smith, Professor W. R., 12, 123, 179

So, or Sewe (Sabako?), 61, 83; prince of Muçri, 621
Socrates, 218
Sodom, 35, 220
Solomon, 220, 223; crowned king, 242
Song of Deliverance, 231
Song of the Triumph of Moses, 226
Song of the Vineyard, 90, 120
Songs of the Slave, 214
Star-worship, 157
Steuernagel, Dr. Carl, 137, 138, 139, 270, 279, 284; his analysis of the Hexatench, 137-142
Stories of a Straightforward One, 232
Snez Canal, 2
Snffering Slave, Four Songs of, 207
Sun, 234, 246, 264; House of the, 264
συνειδήσις, 114 n.
Syria, 1, 42, 58, 81, 93, 97, 165, 254
Syria, Western, 43
Syrians, 126
Syro-Ephraimite war, 59

TABLES as if to feast a god, 9, 12, 25, 58, 70, 72, 80, 92, 123
Tabor (sanctuary), 70
Taharqu, 86
Talmudists, 131
Tartary, 152
Taxation, estimated, 56, 57
Tehillah, 12
Tel-el-Amarna, 1; box of tablet letters, 1
Teman, 5, 176
Teraph, Teraphim, 69, 156
Theologies as viewed by the prophets, 124, 125, 126
Theologumena, 253
Theophanies, 5, 8, 224
Tiglathpileser III., 42, 54, 55, 58, 82; ravaged the north of Palestine, 60; his death, 61
Tigris, 83
Tirhaka, 86
Tirzah, 56
Tophet, 254
Torah, 111, 131
Torah-giver, 230
Torah-place, 220
Torrey, 217
Totem name, 14
Tribal theology, 123-129; tribal theory, 74, 75, 123
Tyre, 42, 55, 82, 97

ULULARE, 12
Underworld, 105, 124
Unity aimed at in Josiah's day, 152, 153; by the Yahwists, 141, 144, 145, 147, 152, 157
Unleavened bread, 225
Uzziah, 42, 54, 81; an aged sheik, 80
Uzziah-Azariah, 58

VENTRILOQUISTS, 159, 239
Venus-worship, 254
Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones, 194 n.

WELL OF OATH, 4
Well of the Kid, 238
White Monntains, 3
Winckler, 1, 61 n.
Wisdom-writers, 131
Wizards, 159
World empires, 150
Worship, 147; instruments of, 69, 71, 72, 73

Ya'akanim, 254
Yahweh, 1-242, 245, 250, 254, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266;

the Hebrew deity, 2, 23, 32, 39, 46, 71, 81, 102, 123, 124, 134, 140, 198, 233; a storm-god, or Rain-god, 5, 7, 8, 9, 31; pronunciation of the word, 10; "cause of falling," 11; the theology of, 21, 33, 220; "of Sabaoth," 31; of Hosts, 32, 103, 125; his Day, 50, 90, 163; always favoured goodness, 50, 120, 121, 122; forsook his own land, 71, 77; was forgotten for other gods, 71, 72; gave the kings, 73; is not a man, but God, 75, 143, 220; judges and forgives, 77, 78; defended Zion, 84; as owner of the Vineyard, 91; his character 92, 98, 100, 104, 116, 118, 119, 123–129, 220; a reality, 107; full of love and tenderness, 116, 209; man's alliance with, 121, 122; has sympathy with the slaves and oppressed, 124; his character moral, 127, 209–213, 217; a new revelation, 144; his influence in Deuteronomic document, 156–160, 162–163; his new covenant, 167; gave material help, 168; his temple at Zion, 171, 174, 176, 190, 240; as one with Zion, 176; meaning of the name, 172; as realised in the exile, 181–185; his people, 200; witnesses, 201, 217; his relation to the Semitic faith, 203; views of his purposes among men, 203; instructions of, 214; at the Beginnings of Life, 219; priest of, 224; with the Hebrews in Egypt, 224, 225, 226, 248; tries the people (Elohistic), 226 n.; is tried by the people (Yahwistic), 226 n.; his Declaration of Agreement and Instructions, 227; his agreement, 229; his dealings with Moses, 224–231; sanctuary, 240

Yahweh-altar, 261

Yahweh-guard, 228

Yahweh-night, 225

Yahweh-oracle, 261, 263

Yahweh-prophet, 229

Yahweh-wind, 225

Yahweh-worshippers, 15, 16, 20

Yahwistic moral standard, 35–37

Yahwistic narrative, 22, 219; its analytical contents, 219–242

Yahwistic school, 11, 22, 251; its ethics, 34 ff., 70

Yahwistic writers, 24, 26, 27, 33, 35, 38

Yahwists, 34, 36, 111, 125; their teaching, 111, 112, 125, 126; not legislators or ceremonialists, 112; their objects, 24, 27, 34; their theology, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32; their advance, 31; their language, 76; their relation to Elohists, 130–134

Yatebhath, 254

Yedidh Yah, 242

Yesha-Yahw, 11

ZACHARIA, 42

Zachariah, 55, 56

Zechariah, 215

Zeno, 114 n.

Zadok, 241

Zared, 254

Zebulon, 223, 230, 233

Zedekiah, 165, 173, 174, 286; his reign, 166

Zephaniah, 90, 150, 158, 165, 184; herald of Josiah's reformation, 161–163; date of his preaching, 165; character of his preaching, 184; his view of Yahweh, 162, 163

Zion, 84, 98, 100, 104, 105, 109, 133, 150, 156, 157, 176, 177, 181, 187, 267; sanctuary, 136; had two shrines, 157; its temple for Yahweh, 171, 174, 176
Ziph, 238
Zipporah, 253
Ziqlag, 238, 239
Zophar, 189
Zoroastrianism, 217

INDEX TO OLD TESTAMENT REFERENCES

Genesis.
xxiii. 2
xxxiv. 2
l. 10 f., 222

Leviticus.
xvii.–xxvi. 186, 189, 191
xxv. 4 ff., 186
xxvi. 34 f., 43, 186

Deuteronomy.
iv. 45, 159
v. 193
v. 1, 3, 31, 159
v–xi. 137, 138, 139
v.–xxxi. 139
vi. 1 f., 17, 20, 159
vi. 5, 159
xi. 1, 159
xii.–xxvi. 138
xii. 1, 159
xii. 3, 159
xiii. 1 ff., 159
xvi. 12
xvi. 21, 159
xvii. 3, 159
xviii. 10 ff., 159
xxi.–xxv. 138
xxvi. 16 ff., 159
xxvii. 137 ff.
xxix. 20–28, 159
xxx. 10, 159
xxx. 17 ff., 159

Joshua.
v. 27, 222
x. 13, 16
xxii. 222

Judges.
xxi. 25–16, 25

Ruth.
iv. 20, 14

1 Samuel.
ii. 15, 12

2 Samuel.
i. 18, 16
vi. 31
x. 1–xi. 1, 21–24, 241
xi. 2, 241
xii. 7, 9, 10–25, 241
xii. 27–31, 242
xiii. 242
xiv. 24, 242
xiv. 28, 242
xix. 242
xix. 8–39, 242
xix. 40–xx. 22, 242

1 Kings.
ii. 30

2 Kings.
i. and ii. 242

2 Kings.
ix. 66 n.
xv. 19, 54.
xxii. f., 135, 157, 158, 160
xxii. 13, 159
xxiii. 3, 159

2 Chronicles.
xxxvi. 21, 186, 190
xxxvi. 22 f., 187

Nehemiah.
i.–vi. 217

Isaiah.
i. 1-7, 109
i. 1-26, 104, 107
i. 5-26, 104, 107
i. 8-16, 109
ii. 1-4, 109
ii. 5-7, 109
ii. 8-11, 109
ii. 6-10, 18-21, 89
ii. 11-17, 89
iii. 1-4, 109
iii. 5-8, 109
iii. 1-15, 90
iii. 9-12, 109
iii. 16-iv. 1, 90
v. 8-24, 91
v. 914, 1-10
v. 25, 92
v. 26-30, 92

Isaiah.
vi. 93, 117
vi. 1–8, 110
vi. 9–16, 110
vii. 1–6, 110
vii. 1–16, 93
viii. 1–ix. 6, 96
vii. 60
ix. 7–x. 4, 92
x. 5–15, 102
xi. 9, 122
xiv. 24–27, 102
xvi. 14, 102
xvii. 1–6, 9–11, 97
xvii. 12–14, 100
xvii. 104, 108
xx. 1–6, 101
xxi. 16 f., 102
xxii. 1–14, 104
xxii. 14, 108
xxii. 15–18, 103, 105
xxv. 8, 774
xxviii, 1–6, 105
xxviii. 7–22, 103, 105
xxix. 1–6, 9–10, 13 f., 104, 106
xxix. 9 f., 106
xxix. 13, 106
xxix. 15, 104, 106
xxix. 22, 200
xxx. 1–5, 104, 106
xxx. 6 f., 104
xxx. 8–17, 104, 107
xxxi. 1–3, 104, 107
xxxi. 1–5, 107
xxxi. 4–104
xxxiii. 26, 200
xxxix. 2, 86
xl. 195, 196
xl–xlviii. 205
xl–lxvi. 200
xl. 1, 196
xli. 164, 196
xli. 2, 187
Isaiah.
xli. 17 f., 196
xlii. 210
xlii. 1–4, 196, 207
xlii. 1–6, 207
xlii. 8–25, 196
xlii. 10–13, 200
xliii. 23, 199
xliv. 203
xliv. 1–8, 21–28, 196
xliv. 24–28, 204
xliv. 28, 187
xlv. 1 ff., 187, 204
xlv. 8, 200
xlvi. 1–5, 9–13, 196
xlvii. 196
xlviii. 3, 5–8, 11–16, 20–21, 196
xlix. 33, 164
xlix. 1–6, 196, 207, 208, 214
l. 4–9, 196, 207, 209
li. 164
lii. 13–liii. 12, 196, 207, 211
liii. 153, 164
liii. 1, 7, 8, 164
liii. 12, 207

Jeremiah.
i.–xxiv. 167
ii.–vi. 169
iii. 14, 170
v. 17, 170
vii. x. 171
ix. 1, 164
xi. 170
xi. 18, 19, 164
xi., xii., xx. 213
xii. 170
xiv.–xvii. 172
xiv. 7, 9, 21 f., 172
xiv. 21 f., 11
xv. 172
Jeremiah.
xvi. 172
xvii. 172
xvii. 16, 211
xviii. 170
xx.–xxiv. 173
xx. 7, 211
xxi. 164
xxii. 164
xxiv. 164
xxv. 164, 171
xxvi. 164
xxvi.–xlv. 167
xxvii. 164
xxxii. 173
xxxiii. 1 ff., 11
xxxiii.–li. 167
xxxiv. 9 ff., 179
lii. 167

Ezekiel.
ii. 2, 202
iii. 24, 202
xi. 192
xi. 5, 202
xi. 19, 202
xviii. 31, 202
xxxvi. 26, 202
xxxvii. 194
xxxvii. 14, 202
xxxix. 29

Hosea.
i.–iii. 65
iii. 76
iv.–ix. 7, 64, 69
iv.–xiv. 64
iv.–ix. 7, 64
v. 1–9, 70
v. 10–vii. 2, 70
v. 13, 54
vi. 9 f., 116
vii. 3–ix. 7, 71
vii. 7, 54

Hosea.
vii. 11, 54, 59
viii. 4, 54
viii. 9, 54
ix. 8 f., 72
ix. 8, 9, 64
ix. 10–xi. 6, 64, 73
x. 3, 54
x. 5, 57
x. 6, 72
xi. 67
xi. 7–11, 64
Hosea.
xii. xiii. 64, 75
xiii. 76
xiii. 10, 54
xiv. 1–9, 64
xiv. 4, 54

Amos.
i.–ii. 3, 45
ii. 6, 45
ii. 6–16, 45
iii. 1–8, 46
Amos.
iii. 9–iv. 3, 47
iv. 4–13, 48
v. 4 f., 11
v. 14, 127
v. 1–15, 49
v. 16–vi. 14, 50
vii. 1–viii. 3, 51
viii. 4–ix. 10, 52

Micah.
vii. 20

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